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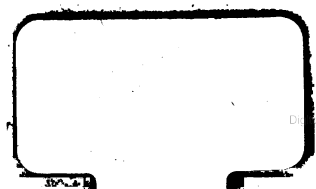

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TITUS LIVIUS's ROMAN HISTORY,

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH,

AND

ILLUSTRATED WITH NOTES,

CRITICAL, HISTORICAL, AND GEOGRAPHICAL:

For the Use of STUDENTS in Humanity.

By WILLIAM GORDON,

Author of the UNIVERSAL ACCOUNTANT.

Scire tuum nihil est, nisi te scire hoc sciat alter.
PER. Sat. 1.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

GLASGOW:

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TO HIS GRACE,

ALEXANDER

DUKE OF GORDON.

IN

TESTIMONY OF THAT VENERATION

AND DUTY, WHICH HE OWES

TO HIS ILLUSTRIOUS PATRON,

AND GENEROUS BENEFACTOR;

THE FOLLOWING

TRANSLATION,

IS, WITH

GREAT SUBMISSION,

GRATITUDE, AND RESPECT,

INSCRIBED BY

HIS GRACE's MOST OBEDIENT,

MUCH OBLIGED,

AND

VERY HUMBLE SERVANT,

WILLIAM GORDON.

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TO THE PUBLIC.

TO reconcile Youth, in the early ſtages of their application to the ſtudy of the CLASSICS, to facilitate and promote their progreſs, and to enlarge their ideas in the Engliſh, as well as Latin phraſeology, the uſe of literal tranſlations hath been, of late years, moſt ſucceſsfully adopted. The advantages ariſing from tranſlations, conſtructed on a more liberal plan, at a more advanced period, after etymology, inflexion, conſtruction, accent, and a ſufficient ſtock of words have been acquired, will be equally conſiderable. To lay a foundation for good taſte, and true criticiſm, is a point, of which we muſt never loſe ſight, in Claſſical ſtudies. The obſervations of a good teacher, in the courſe of his preſcriptions, will be very important; but the practical art of arranging, claſſing, and diſpoſing a liberal ſtock of phraſes, with taſte and judgment, will receive a ſurpriſing improvement from imitation.

By comparing the original with an elegant tranſlation, and that tranſlation again with the original, the ſtudent's ſtile will be inſenſibly elevated, and he will quickly acquire a facility and readineſs of expreſſion in both languages, without which, all the time and labour ſpent upon ſtudy, would be in a great meaſure loſt. But to one, whoſe only aſſiſtant is his dictionary, a good tranſlation muſt be ſtill more neceſſary. The drudgery of ſcrambling the ſenſe of an author, out of a dictionary, is not only intolerably tedious, but requires an extraordinary degree of penetration to ſucceed to any purpoſe: a good tranſlation, properly uſed, will render the ſtudy eaſy, expeditious, and effectual.

It was with this view that I employed ſome of my leiſure hours in tranſlating the *firſt ſix books of Livy*, to whoſe writings, I have always been mightily attached, on account of the beauty and dignity of his ſtile, and his luminous, intelligible, and agreeable manner. In tranſlating, I have endeavoured to be ſpirited and faithful, equally avoiding the cloſeneſs of a literal verſion, in which the ſpirit of the author would have evaporated, and the freedom of a looſe paraphraſe, which would not

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have anſwered the purpoſe intended by it. In one word, I have endeavoured, as far as I could, to transfuſe the ſentiments and fire of Livy into a Britiſh body: but how far I have ſucceeded, I muſt leave to the impartial public.

To render the purchaſe eaſy, and that I may have the opinion of the public, before I ſhould proceed farther, I have confined myſelf at preſent to ſix Books.—If theſe already tranſlated be read with a proper degree of attention, a tranſlation for the reſt will not perhaps be neceſſary: however, ſhould this ſpecimen be well received, the reſt may ſoon follow.

Although the works of TITUS LIVIUS have immortalized his name, he was too regardleſs of popular applauſe, or places of diſtinction, and too much delighted with philoſophical retirement and humble privacy, to leave many veſtiges of his rank, employments, adventures, or fortune. It is, however, generally agreed, that he was born at Padua, and deſcended of no obſcure family, ſince it had the honour to give conſuls to the Republic of Rome.—It is alſo known, that he lived in the Auguſtan age *; that he dedicated to Auguſtus, thoſe Dialogues, which he publiſhed on the philoſophical queſtions of the times, and that this made him known and recommended him to the favour of that emperor: That he afterwards wrote a Treatiſe on Eloquence, inſcribed to his ſon, of which Quintilian makes honourable mention.—We alſo know, that he began to write his hiſtory at Rome, where he might have recourſe to ſuch memorials and original papers, that had been preſerved in the capitol, as were proper to ſet him to rights concerning the origin of the city, and remove thoſe intricacies and doubts, into which fabulous traditions had involved it: That after he was ſufficiently maſter of his ſubject, he retired to Naples, where his labours might meet with fewer interruptions. That ſometime after this, he read ſome paſſages of his hiſtory to the emperor Auguſtus and Mæcenas, of which they formed ſo favourable an opinion, that the emperor appointed him præceptor to his grandſon Claudius, afterwards emperor †.

It is recorded by the younger Pliny, that the reputation

* T. Liv. lib. I. cap. 19. † Suet. in Claud. cap. 41.

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of Livy had begun already to make so much noise in the world, that he received an honourable visit from the extremity of Spain, occasioned by the fame of his great and extensive genius, which had even found its way thither *.

After the death of Augustus, he returned to his native Padua, where he was received by his fellow-citizens, with every demonstration of joy and mark of honour. He died there in the fourth year of the empire of Tiberius. Whilst he staid at Rome, and had the countenance and protection of Augustus, he had every opportunity of attaining whatever knowlege was necessary to his design; to the study of which he was so much attached, that he sequestered himself in a manner from the world, and the pursuits of ambition, so that his life became thereafter more obscure: for, applying his whole attention to the great work he had undertaken, he shut himself up in his study, and consequently had very little intercourse with society. So vast and so great an enterprize, both in the plan and execution, certainly required the noblest efforts of human genius; but the elevated and generous sentiments which so remarkably distinguish and stamp an uncommon beauty and excellency on Titus Livius's history, are derived from the nobleness of the heart, for which our author seems to have been illustriously conspicuous.

Any one who has read the works of Livy with attention, will be at no loss to pronounce him a man of worth and probity. The manner in which he speaks of himself, is peculiarly modest: vanity is a foible to which he seems to have been a perfect stranger. Of himself personally, he seldom or never speaks; nor in the whole course of his history, does he mention the least thing that concerns him, save only that the temple of Janus was shut in his time. Nothing can be a greater proof of his natural turn of mind in this particular, than the strain of modesty which runs through the preface to his history. No author ever promised less, or performed more. With what diffidence does he disclose his design; and with what distrust of his abilities to support with propriety so great an undertaking? But his fears are

* Lib. II. Ep. 3.

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a proof of his wiſdom; and he promiſes little, that his readers might be agreeably diſappointed: So true it is, that a man's modeſty is generally in proportion to his judgment. This is one reaſon why Livy attracts our admiration whenever we read his works: for, having promiſed nothing, we ſoon diſcover the clearneſs of his compoſition; the depth of his penetration; the extent of his genius; the fertility of his imagination; and, in fine, numberleſs beauties, elegancies, and excellencies, peculiar to himſelf, which, in the modeſty of his Introduction, we were not taught to expect. What fund of wiſdom, what politeneſs of manners was requiſite to depreſs that pride, that ſelf-appropriation, ſo natural to the human mind, and yet to do juſtice to his character?

If Livy's ſincerity could have been poſſibly ſtiffled, the reſpect ſhown him by Auguſtus, the favour to which he was elevated, and the eſtimation he was held in at court, might have corrupted him: yet none of theſe conſiderations prevented him from doing juſtice to the character of Pompey, and ſpeaking reſpectfully of Brutus and Caſſius, whenever an opportunity offered *. A conduct ſo generous, candid, and diſintereſted, Cremutius Cordus, according to Tacitus, thought he could never ſufficiently praiſe.

Such was Livy in the qualities of his heart; and ſuch were his perſonal endowments. And, without doubt, but for ſuch a hiſtorian there would have been ſomething defective in the glory, or rather the good fortune of a people, who by their military and political virtues, raiſed themſelves to the higheſt pitch of terreſtrial greatneſs. This gave riſe to the famous inſcription found at Padua, *Anno* 1413, in the church of St. Juſtina. *Oſſa Titi Livii Patavini unius omnium mortalium judicio digni, cujus prope invicto calamo, invicti populi Romani res geſtæ conſcriberentur.*

The end and deſign of hiſtory is to inſtruct and improve the preſent, by exhibiting a true picture of paſt ages: and when we conſider the various accompliſhments and requiſites for executing it well, the reaſon why the moſt learned and poliſhed nations have produced ſo few perfect hiſtorians, will be abundantly obvious. To

* Tac. Lib. iv. Annal.

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complete this character, the philosopher, the politician, the general, the orator, and the man of the world, must all be united in one and the same person. To accuracy and diligence in his researches; symmetry, and proportion in the arrangement of his matter; elegance, and nervousness of diction; freedom and impartiality in his reflexions, he must join a thorough acquaintance with the constitution of the state whose history he writes, and the discriminating characters of its various ages, an intimate knowledge of the human heart; and above all, an honest, virtuous, steady, and unbiassed disposition. The more extended the subject, the greater variety of examples it exhibits, the more genius it requires to treat it with propriety, and the more extensive the advantages to be derived from it.

The subject upon which Livy treats, accurately considered in every circumstance, is perhaps the most beautiful and richest that possibly can be conceived. The Romans were a people, who, from an origin the most obscure and inglorious, by correcting what was amiss in their manners, by prudence in their councils, by activity and address in the execution of their plans, by secresy and fidelity in their negotiations, by strictness of discipline, civil and military, and by their unshaken firmness and fortitude, amidst the most imminent dangers, arrived to a pitch of glory almost incredible, which they owed alone to the vigour of their constitution, and their virtuous principles: so that their history furnishes us with all that is great,—with all that is excellent,—with all that is truly noble.

In contemplating this mighty empire, the imagination must be highly delighted, when virtues which promoted its elevation, and the vices which hastened its ruin, pass in review before it. It is here, where we can examine the most illustrious characters with candor and impartiality, unbiassed by prejudice, and undazzled by greatness. Can the understanding be more enlarged, or the judgment be better confirmed, than in living thus over past ages, profiting by their experience, and penetrating into the motives of every action, and cause of every event? Can there be a greater incitement to virtue, than from the example exhibited to us in the history of the

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antient Romans, for modesty, frugality, generosity, disinterestedness, patriotism, and all those shining virtues, which have rendered them the admiration of succeeding ages? It was in this view that Livy considered his subject, in which he saw so many opportunities of displaying his genius, and which he knew so well how to improve *.

In short, in the manner he has handled his subject, nothing seems to be above his merit. The beauty and elevation of his style, is equal to the glory and greatness of the people whose history he writes. He is every where luminous, intelligible, and agreeable: but when he enters into important affairs, he rises even above himself, to treat them with peculiar attention, and a kind of self-delight and complacency. The actions he describes, he renders present; he sets them before the eyes; he does not relate them, he shows them. He paints the genius and character of his *dramatis personæ*, from nature; and puts words into their mouths, which are always conformable to their sentiments and situations. In one word, he has the wonderful art of keeping his readers in so pleasing a suspense, by the variety of his events, and of engaging their curiosity so strongly, that it is impossible to quit his relation of any incident, till it is entirely at an end †.

It is reported of the celebrated Scotch historian, George Buchanan, that he read Titus Livius's history ten times over, to fix in his mind the stile and manner of that great author, before he attempted the work, which has justly placed him at the head of all the writers, who have transmitted their sentiments to posterity in the Latin language, since the Augustan age. Nay, some have not scrupled to affirm, in drawing a comparison between Livy, and the celebrated Roman orator, Cicero; that if the latter had turned his whole attention from the bar, to the writing of history, his appearance, as a historian, would rather have come short of Livy's.

Our author's Roman history, originally consisted of 142 Books, extending from the foundation of Rome to

* Les Oeuvres du P. Rapin. † Rollin's Roman history.

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the death of Dausus, A. U. C. 744.; but the lamentable depredations, which have been committed on the literary treasures of antiquity, by Goths and Vandals, Monks, worms, and that notorious *bellua librorum*, time, have deprived us of above 170 Books, the value of which may be estimated from the expectations which have been formed, the searches that have been made, and the rewards that have been proposed for recovering all the Books of this inimitable historian, which are wanting in our printed copies. Once indeed it was fully expected, that all the works of Livy would have been restored entire to the world. One Justiniani, a Greek merchant of the island of Chios, happening to be in France, in the year 1683, offered the French king all the works of Livy. He pretended, that at the great fire, which happened at Constantinople in 1665, this valuable work was, among other books, thrown out at a window, and picked up by a Turk, who sold it privately to a merchant, by whom he was commissioned to sell it. The bargain was struck; by which Justiniani was entitled to receive at the rate of 10,000 crowns instantly paid him, for every two Decades he could produce. But he never returned with the copy, which was an universal disappointment *.

Thus, in all ages, since the works of Livy made their first appearance in the world, have they been universally admired and sought after, with the greatest avidity: and such was the veneration paid to their illustrious author, by Alphonso king of Naples, that he sent, in the year 1451, Panormita as his ambassador to the Venetians, in whose dominions the bones of Livy had been lately discovered, to beg a relic of this celebrated historian. They presented him with an arm bone; and the present is recorded in an inscription preserved at Padua, to this day †.

* Marhoff. de Patavin. Liv.

† Vossius de historicis Latinis.

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WE ſhall conclude the character of this great Hiſtorian, with an extract from a modern Author †, who, having done juſtice to other Roman hiſtorians, does LIVY the nobleſt homage, in the following elegant encomium.

OF mightier ſpirit, of majeſtic fame,
With powers proportion'd to the Roman name;
When Rome's fierce Eagle his broad wings unfurl'd
And ſhadow'd with them all the ſubject world,
In bright pre-eminence that Greece might own
Sublimer LIVY claims th' hiſtoric throne:
With that rich eloquence, whoſe golden light
Brings the full ſcene diſtinctly to the ſight:
That zeal of truth which intereſt cannot bend;
That fire, which freedom ever gives her friend.
Immortal artiſt of a work ſupreme!
Delighted Rome beheld with proud eſteem,
Her own bright image of Coloſſal ſize,
From thy long toils in pureſt marble riſe.
But envious time, with a malignant ſtroke,
This ſacred ſtatue into fragments broke;
In Lethe's ſtream its nobler portions ſunk,
And left futurity the wounded trunk.
Yet, like the matchleſs, mutilated frame,
To which great Angelo bequeath'd his name,
This glorious ruin, in whoſe ſtrength we find
The ſplendid vigour of the ſculptor's mind;
In the fond eye of admiration ſtill,
Rivals the finiſh'd forms of modern ſkill.

† Hayley's poetical eſſay on hiſtory.

ACCADEMY, GLASGOW,
16th January, 1783.

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TITUS LIVIUS's Roman Hiſtory,

FROM

The BUILDING of the CITY.

BOOK I.

Containing the Hiſtory of the regal government of ROME.

INTRODUCTION.

IN writing the hiſtory of the Roman people, from the very foundation of the city, whether I may offer to the public a work of merit, is a queſtion I cannot well reſolve; nor if I could, would I venture to do it, ſenſible as I am, that it is a trite and common thing, for every new author, to imagine to himſelf, that he will ſtate facts with a greater air of authenticity *than his predeceſſors*; or, by the colourings of his ſtile, throw a new light upon the ſhades of more ancient productions. Whatever may be in that, to me the reflection will be however agreeable, that I too have contributed my part, to perpetuate the memory of the atchievements of a people, who have become Lords of the univerſe: And ſhould I, in ſuch a groupe of writers, appear leſs conſpicuous, I ſhall ſtill find ſome conſolation in the luſtre of thoſe characters, who are ſuperior to me in the annals of fame. Moreover, to write the hiſtory of ſo great a

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people, for a period of more than seven centuries, must be a very laborious task; more especially as from a beginning the most inconsiderable, they raised themselves to a pitch of greatness which they are now hardly able to support. To the generality of readers too, I doubt not, but the origin of the city, and what immediately followed, will be less interesting, whilst they hurry on to these later times, when, for several years past, the power of this extraordinary people hath been engaged in working its own destruction.—On the other hand, should I have no other reward for my trouble, while my attention is totally engaged in reviewing those scenes of antiquity, I can at least withdraw mine eyes from beholding the raging wickedness of the times, and consequently be void of care, which, though it may not influence the mind of a writer, with respect to truth, can very sensibly hurt his feelings.

What happened before, and about the time the city was built, as the accounts are rather embellished with poetical fables than supported by incontestible authorities, I am resolved neither to affirm nor refute. It is an indulgence allowed to antiquity, the better to stamp a superior dignity on the original of cities, to blend things human with divine: And if any people on earth can possibly be allowed the privilege of consecrating their original, and ascribing it to the gods, such is the military glory of the Roman people, that when they claim a peculiar title to call Mars their author, and the father of their founder, all the nations bear it as chearfully as they submit to their yoke. But these circumstances, and others of the same nature, however taken or considered, shall give me no concern. I shall only request the reader's serious attention to what respects the *lives* and *manners* of this people, the *men* and *measures*, in the cabinet and in the field, by which their empire was founded and extended. Then let him still continue to observe, whilst the strictness of their discipline gradually relaxed, first a corruption of their morals, then a constant progressive decay, and at last a total degeneracy, till he arrive at the present age, when we can neither bear our political disorders, nor the application of a remedy.

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In the ſtudy of hiſtory there is this peculiar advantage: There you have examples of every kind ſet before you, in a conſpicuous point of view; whence you may ſet up models for your imitation, as an individual, or a ſtate, or beacons to warn you againſt baſe attempts, which end in diſgrace. But either I am prepoſſeſſed in favour of the work I have undertaken, or there never was a ſtate more reſpectable for its greatneſs, its ſanctity, or variety of excellent characters. Never was there a ſtate, into which luxury and avarice found their way ſo late, nor where poverty and frugality were held ſo long and ſo much in repute, that the leſs they had, the leſs they deſired. Of late years, riches have introduced luxury, and a profuſion of pleaſures, a taſte for extravagance in all the ways of riot and debauchery: but as complaints will not even then be agreeable, when perhaps they are neceſſary, let us at leaſt drop them in the Introduction to ſo great a work, and rather, were it faſhionable with us Hiſtorians, as it is with the Poets, ſet out with more enlivening ideas, with good omens, and vows, and prayers to the gods and goddeſſes, that they would vouchſafe to grant ſucceſs, adequate to the greatneſs of the undertaking.

CHAP. I.

ÆNEAS's *arrival in Italy, and marriage.*

Anno Mundi, 2282.

NOW firſt of all, it is abundantly evident, that, after Troy * was taken, great havock was made among all the Trojans, excepting only two, Æneas and Antenor, whom the Greeks exempted from the rigours of war, becauſe they had always been for peace; and inſiſted that Helen ſhould be given up:—That Antenor thereafter, having run through many adventures, arrived in the interior bay of the Adriatic ſea, with a body of Heneti, who having, for ſeditious practices, been expel-

* A city of the Leſſer Aſia, its territories conſtituting part of Phrygia, lying between the river Simois and Scamander.

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led Paphlagonia *, were in search of a settlement and a Leader, for their king Palymenes had fallen at Troy:—That the Trojans, in conjunction with the Heneti, having driven out the Euganei, who inhabited the country, between the sea and the Alps, took possession of their lands. The place where they first landed was called Troy, and from thence the Trojan district. The people in general were called Venetians.—That Æneas driven from his country by a similar disaster, but conducted by his fates, to enterprizes more important, landed first in Macedonia, and moving thence in quest of a settlement, was carried to Sicily, whence he steered for the country of Laurentum †. This place was also called Troy. There the Trojans disembarking, and having nothing left, after their tedious and troublesome voyages, but their arms and vessels, fell to plundering the country. To put a stop to this violent proceeding in the strangers, Latinus and the Aborigines, who were then the proprietors, flocked out in arms from town and country.

The event of this affair is differently related. According to some authors, Latinus being defeated in battle, first made a peace with Æneas, which was afterwards confirmed by a matrimonial alliance: but others contend, that when both armies stood drawn up in order of battle, before the signal was given, Latinus advancing among his nobles, invited the Leader of the foreigners to an interview. He then enquired who they were, whence they came, what had obliged them to leave their country, and what they wanted in the territory of Laurentum? After he had been informed that the people were Trojans, who, under the conduct of Æneas, the son of Anchises and Venus, after their country was destroyed, had wandered in quest of a settlement, and a spot upon which they might build a city; admiring the majestic appearance of the man, the dignity of his family, and withal a soul equally prepared for peace or war, he confirmed to him a promise of future amity, by giving him the hand of friendship.

* Bounded by the rivers Parthenius and Halys, part of Gallo-græcia and the Euxine sea.

† San Lorenzo.

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Upon this, a treaty enſued between the chiefs, and a ſalutation between the armies. By Latinus, Æneas was hoſpitably entertained; who, in preſence of his houſhold gods, to the public treaty added a family alliance, by giving him his daughter in marriage. This tranſaction ſecured to the Trojans a certain ſettlement, and a final adieu to roving: Then they built a city, which, in honour of his wife, Æneas called *Lavinium* *. This marriage ſoon produced a ſon, to whom his parents gave the name of *Aſcanius*.

CHAP. II. ÆNEAS's *grand Atchievements.*

NOT long after this, hoſtilities were commenced againſt the Aborigines and Trojans together. Turnus, king of the Rutulians †, to whom Lavinia had been promiſed, before the arrival of Æneas, provoked to ſee a ſtranger preferred to him, made war upon Latinus, and Æneas at the ſame time. Neither army left the field with much cauſe of triumph; for the Rutulians were defeated; and the Aborigines and Trojans, though they gained a victory, loſt their leader Latinus. Then Turnus and his Rutulians ‡, deſpairing of ſucceſs from their own reſources, applied to the Etrurians, a flouriſhing ſtate; and their king Mezentius, who, at that time, kept his court at Cære ‖, an opulent city: He beholding, with a jealous eye, the foundation of a new city; and thinking, at that time, that the Trojan power was advancing too rapidly, for the ſafety of its neighbours, without much difficulty joined in a confederacy with the Rutulians.

Æneas, that he might ſecure the affections of the Aborigines, now that he was threatened with ſuch a for-

* Situated where St. Petronillus's chapel now ſtands.

† They poſſeſſed the maritime part of Campagna di Roma, between the rivulet Numicius, now Rio di Nimi, and the Tiber.

‡ The country of the Etruſci lay between the Magra and the Tiber. It was divided by the Arno.

‖ Now Cereteri.

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midable junction, united both nations under one name as well as government, and called them both *Latini*: nor from that moment did the Aborigines, in point of zeal and loyalty, ſhow themſelves, in any inſtance, leſs attached than the Trojans, to their king Æneas. Wherefore relying on the affections of his united ſubjects, who became more ſtrongly cemented every day, although the power of the Etrurians was ſo conſiderable, that their fame was not only diffuſed all over the inland country, but alſo along the weſtern coaſt, from the Alps to the ſtreights of Meſſina; and, though he could have defended himſelf within his walls, he led his army out to the field. The Latins here were once more victorious; but Æneas was among the ſlain. By whatever name he has a right or title to be called, he was buried on the banks of Numicius *, and is invoked by the name of *Jupiter Indiges*.

CHAP. III.

The reign of Aſcanius in Alba; of Æneas Sylvius, and the reſt of the Sylvian family.

ASCANIUS, the ſon of Æneas, was too young to take upon himſelf the adminiſtration; notwithſtanding of which, his dominions came unimpaired into his hands, when of age. For ſuch were the abilities and addreſs of Lavinia, that during his minority, Latium, and wherever his grandfather's or father's ſovereignty extended, ſtood firm in his favour, under her regency. I queſtion much, (for who would aſſert for truth, a circumſtance of a date ſo ancient,) whether this Aſcanius was the ſon of Lavinia, or one born before him, of Creuſa, before the deſtruction of Troy, which Julus Aſcanius, his father's companion in his flight, the Julian family affect to call the author of their name?

This Aſcanius, wherever, or of whomſoever born, is by all admitted to have been the ſon of Æneas. He finding Lavinium was overflocked with inhabitants, left that city, flouriſhing and opulent as it was, conſidering

* Rio di Nimi. It run cloſe by Lavinium.

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the times, to his mother, or step-mother, and laid the foundation of another new city for himself; at the foot of mount Alba, which, from its situation, being extended on the declivity of a hill, was called *Longa Alba* *.

From the time that Lavinium was founded, and the colony planted at Alba Longa, there was an interval of near thirty years. Yet so rapid was the progress of the Latin power, especially after the defeat of the Etrurians, that not even upon Æneas's death, nor thereafter, during the regency of Lavinia, and the first exhibitions of a juvenile administration, did Mezentius, or the Etrurians, or any other neighbouring power, dare to make the least attempt against it. A peace had been made on these terms, that the river Albula, which they now call the Tiber, should be the line of division, between the Etrurians and Latins.

Sylvius, by some accident born in a wood, succeeded his father Ascanius †. Him also his son, Æneas Sylvius succeeded, who transmitted the kingdom to his son Latinus Sylvius. This king planted several colonies, and called them antient Latins. After him the name of Sylvius was assumed by all the succeeding kings of Alba. Alba was the son and successor of Latinus, Alys of Alba, Capys of Alys, Capetus of Capys, and of Capetus, Tiberinus, who was drowned in crossing the Albula, and thereby left it a name famous among posterity.

Agrippa, was the son and successor of Tiberinus, and Romulus Sylvius of Agrippa. He being killed by lightening, the kingdom devolved on Aventinus, who was buried on that hill, which is now part of the city of Rome, and called by his name. After him Proca reigned, the father of Numitor and Amulius. To Numitor, his eldest son, he left the antient kingdom of the Sylvian family; but power was more prevalent than the will of a parent, or the deference due to seniority.

Numitor was expelled, and Amulius usurped the government. One crime followed upon the heels of another. He cut off all his brother's representatives of the male line; and that there might be no hopes of poste-

* Patazotta. † Some say his brother.

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rity from the female line, under pretence of doing honour to Rhea Sylvia, Numitor's daughter, he got her admitted a veſtal virgin, which condemned her to perpetual virginity.

CHAP. IV.

Rhea Sylvia with child to Mars. Romulus and Remus born.

BUT, if I am not miſtaken, we muſt look for the origin of ſo extraordinary a city, and the foundation of an empire, in power inferior only to that of the gods, in the records of fate. The veſtal was ſurpriſed, forced, and delivered of twins; whom, either becauſe ſhe really thought ſo, or becauſe a god was a more honourable cloak for her offence, ſhe fathered upon Mars. But neither gods nor men ſkreened her from the cruelty of the king; the veſtal was put in cloſe confinement; and the infants were ordered to be thrown into the Tiber, where the current was moſt rapid. By the interpoſition of ſome divinity, the river had, at that time, overflowed its banks; upon which the water ſtood diffuſed in ſtill pools, which rendered the channel quite inacceſſible. They who were charged with the execution of the orders, thinking the water, however ſtill, would be ſufficient to drown the infants, laid them down in the neareſt pool, where now ſtands the Ruminalis ficus *; formerly, by tradition, the ficus Romularis, concluding, that they had now fairly done their duty.

The country was, at that time, a vaſt wilderneſs: and, it is ſaid, that after the water had ſubſided, and left the trough, or ſkift, in which the infants had been expoſed, upon dry ground, a thirſty ſhe wolf coming down from the neighbouring mountains, was led to the place by their cries, and bended with ſo much complacency to ſuckle them, that ſhe was found by the king's ſhepherd gently licking them with her tongue. It is ſaid the ſhepherd's name was *Fauſtulus*, and that he brought

* In ſome copies we find *Vicus Ruminalis*, which appears to be the true reading; for it is hardly probable that a fig-tree in Romulus's time, would be ſtanding in the days of Livy.

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home the children to his cot, to be nurſed by his wife Laurentia. Some contend that this ſame Laurentia, was called Lupa among the ſhepherds, on account of her eaſy virtue, and that the miraculous ſtory took its riſe from that circumſtance.

The children being thus born, and thus brought up, did not loiter about the folds, nor tend the flocks, even when they were yet young, but roamed and hunted in the Forreſts; by which exerciſe, having acquired ſtrength and courage, they not only encountered wild beaſts, but attacked bands of robbers, loaded with plunder; and divided the ſpoil among the ſhepherds. Their corps becoming more numerous every day, they now began to keep feſtivals, and have rural ſports together.

CHAP. V. *Amulius killed.*

IT is aſſerted, that at this very time, the feſtival of the Lupercalia *, was ſolemnized on mount Palatine, which, from Pallantium, a city of Arcadia, was firſt called Pallantium, and afterwards Palatium.—That there Evander deſcended of theſe Arcadians, who, for many ages before, had been in poſſeſſion of that country, had inſtituted that feſtival brought with him from Arcadia. It was to be ſolemnized by young men, who were to run naked, making every attitude expreſſive of mirth and humour, in honour of Pan Lyceus †; to whom afterwards the Romans gave the name of Inuus.—That the robbers having learned when this feſtival was to be ſolemnized, and irritated for the loſs of their plunder, lay in wait for them while engaged in theſe ſports. Romulus, by the gallantry of his defence, got clear off, but Remus fell into their hands, and was delivered to king Amulius, loaded with accuſations atteſted by themſelves.

* Two goats and a dog were ſacrificed; and the foreheads of two young men of quality were touched with the bloody knife, whilſt others wiped off the blood with wool dipped in milk. The goat's ſkins were cut in thongs, with which the young men ſtruck all they met, particularly young married women, who believed that ſuch ſtrokes contributed to eaſy conception and delivery.

† A ſirname given to Pan, becauſe it was thought he protected the flocks from the wolves.

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They were charged in particular, with making incurſions on, and ravaging Numitor's lands, aſſiſted by a band of young fellows collected for the purpoſe; in conſequence of which, Remus was delivered over to Numitor to be puniſhed. It is to be obſerved, that Fauſtulus, from the beginning had ſome notion, that the children he had been bringing up, were of the blood royal, for he knew they had been expoſed by the king's order, and the time he had taken them up, correſponded exactly with the date of the order: but he had no intention of diſcovering the ſecret unſeaſonably, before he found a proper opportunity, or was compelled by neceſſity. Neceſſity was his firſt motive: for, inſtigated by his concern for the ſafety of his ward, he makes a full diſcovery to Romulus. By chance too, when Numitor had Remus in cuſtody, he had heard that he had a twin-brother; and by comparing their ages with their diſpoſitions, which he found the very reverſe of ſervile, he was ſtruck with the idea of his grand-children; and upon further enquiry, was almoſt determined to acknowledge Remus. Wherefore a plot is laid for the king on all ſides.

Romulus, however, did not advance with his young adventurers in a body, as being, by open force unequal to the attempt; but having ordered the ſhepherds by different routs, to meet at the palace, at an hour concerted, he then forces his way to the king, whilſt, from Numitor's houſe, Remus advances with another party, which he had conveened for his brother's aſſiſtance.

CHAP. VI.

The city Rome built by Romulus.

NUMITOR, at the beginning of the inſurrection, under pretence that an enemy had invaded the city, and made their way good to the palace, called off the Alban youth to garriſon and defend the caſtle. But when he ſaw his grand-ſons advancing towards him, with loud huzzas, having done their buſineſs, he immediately called a council, laid open to them his brother's wicked proceedings againſt himſelf, acquaints them with the

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hiſtory of his grand-ſons, how they were born, brought up, and diſcovered; and alſo informs them of the murder of the tyrant, at the ſame time acknowledging, that it did not happen without his conſent. Then the young princes, making their way through the middle of the croud, with their attendants, ſaluted their grandfather king; of which the multitude echoing ſhouts of approbation, confirmed to him at once, the prerogative, as well as the title of king.

Numitor being thus re-cognized king of Alba, Romulus and Remus became paſſionately fond of building a city on the very ſpot where they had been expoſed and brought up. A number, both of Trojans and Albans, could well enough be ſpared, and the ſhepherds had already acceded to the motion, who altogether were eaſily induced to hope, that in future times, Alba and Lavinia, would only be looked upon as inconſiderable villages, compared to the city they were about to build. Theſe views were afterwards interrupted by ambition, an hereditary evil, which, though it was attended with no ſort of acrimony at firſt, had an event ſufficiently tragical.

As the brothers were twins, and the reſpect due to ſeniority could make no diſtinction, they agreed that the tutelar gods of the country ſhould decide by Augury *, which of the two ſhould give a name, and laws to the new city, when built. Romulus chooſed the Palatine, and Remus the Aventine mount, for making their reſpective obſervations.

CHAP. VII. *Remus killed.*

REMUS, it is ſaid, had the firſt omen, namely, ſix Vultures; but he had hardly made his report, when double the number appeared to Romulus; upon

* *Ab avium geſtu, vel garritu*, firſt invented in Chaldea, thence tranſmitted to Greece, thence to the Tuſcans, and by them communicated to the Latins and Romans. In taking an Augury, the obſerver ſtood on a tower, with his head covered with a gown peculiar to his office, called Læna, and turning his face to the eaſt, marked out the heavens into four temples, or quarters, with his lituus, or ſhort rod, after which he ſtood waiting for the omen, which always gained moſt credit when confirmed by another ſimilar to it.

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which each is saluted king by his respective followers. The one party pled a priority in point of time, and the other a superiority in point of numbers. Upon this high words ensued, which, being inflamed with passion, ended in blood. There Remus fell in the scuffle.

There is still another account of the matter, which meets with greater credit; namely, that Remus, in ridicule of his brother, had leaped over his new wall, at which Romulus being highly incensed, put him to death: adding, moreover, in an ironical tone, "Thus let every "one perish, who shall attempt a similar insult."—Thus the sovereignty devolved on Romulus alone, who called the new built city after his own name.

The first object of his attention was the Palatine mount, where he had spent his younger years, and that he fortified. In the worship of all the other gods, he observed the ceremonies of Alba; but in what respected Hercules, the ceremonies of Greece, as instituted by Evander.—They tell a story, that Hercules having killed Gerion, brought off with him some cows of surprizing beauty; and that having swimed across the Tiber, driving them before him, he lay down in a meadow full of grass, to refresh himself after the fatigue of his journey, and feed his cattle with the rich pasture. There, having eat and drunk plentifully before, when he had fallen fast asleep, a shepherd, named Cacus, who resided thereabout, being full of his strength, and quite charmed with the beauty of the cows, resolved to make free with them. And becaufe the marks of their feet would have betrayed his retreat to their owner, had he driven them forwards, he drew the most beautiful of the whole herd, one by one, into his cave, backwards by the tail.

Hercules getting up, as soon as day appeared, and surveying his cattle, found some of them were gone; upon which he walked to the next cave, if possible, to trace them. But when he observed their footsteps all turned from it, and leading no where else, he was quite confounded: and having no other alternative, began to drive his cattle from the inchanted spot. Upon this, as it commonly happens, some of the cows, as he was driving them along, began to low for want of those they had left behind; nor did the cows in the cave fail to

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answer them, which induced Hercules to turn back. As he was advancing to the cows, Cacus attempted to stop him with all the force he could muster; but Hercules, with a single stroke of his club, laid him breathless at his feet, whilst he vainly implored the protection of the shepherds.

At that time Evander, having fled from Peloponesus *, had the government of this country, more out of respect to his superior merit, than any legal investiture. He was highly revered for his wonderful learning, a thing quite uncommon among men who were ignorant of every art, and still more for the supposed divinity of his mother Carmenta, to whom before the coming of the Sybil † into Italy, these nations, for her prophetic spirit, paid great veneration. This Evander was called upon by the shepherds, who crouded in great consternation about the stranger, and impeached him with open murder.

Having heard the crime, and the provocation fully explained, and observing a certain dignity in the air of Hercules, and his size rather above the human, he asked him who he was? The moment his name, his father, and his country were mentioned, "Hail, Hercules, said "he, son of Jupiter; my mother, a true propheteſs "hath declared to me, that you will increase the num- "ber of the celestials, and that to you an altar ‡ shall "be dedicated here, which an empire, the most power- "ful upon earth, shall call the *greatest*." Hercules reaching him the hand of friendship, replied, "That "he gladly accepted the omen, and would fulfil the "pleasure of the fates, by raising and consecrating an "altar accordingly."

Thus, for the first time, an heifer being selected for the purpose, the most beautiful in the whole collection, a sacrifice was made to Hercules; the Potitii and Pinarii, families of the first distinction in the country, performing the service, and partaking of the entertainment. It happened, however, that the Potitii were present at the

* Now the Morea.

† The Sybils were thought to have been divinely inspired, of which, the most considerable were the Persian and Cumean.

‡ It stood in the Ox Market.

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time, and had the intrails set before them; but the Pinarii, as the intrails had been eaten up, came only to the remaining part of the entertainment: For which reason, it was enacted, that the Pinarii should never in future be allowed to eat of the intrails at solemn sacrifices.

The Potitii, being instructed by Evander, continued priests of Hercules for many ages, till they gave up this solemn hereditary office, to be administred by public slaves, that the whole family became extinct.—This was the only foreign sacred rite, which Romulus adopted; and this too, out of deference to that immortality which is the perquisite of virtue, whether his own fates seemed to point.

CHAP. VIII.

The Senate chosen. A. N. C. 753. Rom. 1.

ROMULUS having, with all due solemnity, performed the duties he owed to religion, called an assembly of his people, to whom he prescribed laws and regulations, which alone bad fairest for uniting them in one community; and judging that these laws would have a greater impression on his uncivilized rustics, were he himself distinguished by ensigns of royalty, he rendered his appearance more majestic, by the richness of his dress, and particularly by twelve Lictors * who were to attend his person.

Some are of opinion, that the twelve Vultures, which had been the omen of his regal power, determined him to fix upon this number. But I rather imagine, according to others, that he copied the Apparitors †, as well as this kind of officers, and the number of them, from his neighbours, the Etrurians, from whom also he bor-

* *A Ligandis reis.* They carried each a bundle of rods tied up with an ax; the first for arbitrary, and the last for capital punishments.

† *Ab apparet*, being always ready to execute orders; such were the scribes, or public notaries, *&c.*

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rowed the Curule chair *, and the *Toga prætexta* †.— What gave occaſion to this number among the Etrurians, was the number of nations of which they conſiſted, each having a vote in the election of a king, to whom alſo each of them aſſigned a Lictor.

In the mean time, the walls of the city were extended, by including one place after another within their works; which they carried on more in hopes of an acceſſion of inhabitants, than for the accommodation of the numbers they had at preſent. Thereafter, that this ſpeculation might not be aerial, Romulus, in order to increaſe his numbers, adopting the policy of thoſe ancient founders, who by drawing together an aſſemblage of people in low circumſtances, and of mean extraction, pretended that men aroſe to them out of the earth, opened an aſylum in that place, which is now incloſed, as you go down the hill between the two groves: thither, freed men and ſlaves, and whoever had a taſte for novelty, fled in multitudes, without diſtinction, from the neighbouring nations, which was the firſt acceſſion to their infant power.

As they were now become a pretty formidable party, the next ſtep was to put them under ſome proper regulation. For this purpoſe, an hundred Senators were choſen; either becauſe that number was thought ſufficient, or becauſe no more were found, who could with propriety be elected. But it was ſurely out of reſpect, that they were called Fathers, and their children, Patricians.

CHAP. IX. *War with the Sabines.*

ROME was now powerful enough to cope with any of its neighbours; but for want of women, their duration as a ſtate, could not be extended beyond the

* An ivory chair, carved and placed in a chariot, in which the chief magiſtrates were carried into council.

† A white robe reaching down to the ancles, edged with a purple lace, worn by the chief magiſtrates and ſenators on feſtival days, as a badge of diſtinction.

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period of their own existence, having no partners at home, nor the means of procuring them from their neighbours. For this reason, Romulus, with the advice of the fathers, sent deputies through the neighbouring states, to solicit their alliance, and connexion, by intermarrying with his new subjects: and urging, "That cities, "like other things, rose from very small beginnings;—"That those who were assisted by the gods, and their "own industry, have in time become great and opulent. "—That they might be very sensible, that the gods "had countenanced the building of Rome; and that in "point of virtuous industry, the citizens would not be "deficient.—That therefore, he hoped, as they themselves were men, they would not refuse to mix their "blood and families with men like themselves."

This embassy had a gracious reception no where, and at the same time, that they were held in the utmost contempt, they were dreaded as a monster growing up in the heart of their country, to devour them and their posterity. They were therefore dismissed by most of the neighbouring states, with this insulting question, "Whi-"ther had they opened an asylum for female vagrants, "for such only would be suitable matches for them?" The Roman youth were not a little piqued at this affront, and without doubt, began to meditate on a more violent mode of courtship. To give them time and opportunity for putting their designs in execution, Romulus, concealing his chagrin, makes preparations for celebrating solemn games in honour of Equestrian Neptune *. He calls them Consualia †; and orders them to be announced to all the cities around. They were celebrated with all the pomp and magnificence they could contrive or afford, that their splendour might not come short of the popular expectations. Great crouds assembled, particularly from the adjoining cities, Cænina, Crustuminum, and Antemnæ ‡, even out of curiosity to see the new

* Because he is said to have raised the first house from the earth by a stroke of his Trident.

† From Consus, the god of counsel, because this politic was the effect of great deliberation.

‡ Towns near Rome, but their modern names little known.

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city. The whole nation of the Sabines *, came with their wives and children. Being treated with great hoſpitality in the different houſes, when they had taken a view of the city, its ſituation, fortifications, and the prodigious number of houſes it contained, they could not conceal their wonder at the rapidity of its progreſs in ſo ſhort a time.

When the exhibition came on, their eyes and minds being equally fixed on that object, a tumult was ſet on foot, as had been concerted, and the ſignal being given, the Roman youth ran different ways to carry off the young women by force. A great part of them were borne away promiſcuouſly, by thoſe into whoſe hands chance had put them. Some of ſuperior beauty, deſtined for the principal ſenators, were, by perſons employed for the purpoſe, carried to their houſes. A young lady, in her perſon and looks, far ſurpaſſing all the reſt, it is ſaid, had been ſeized by a party commiſſioned by one Talaſſius, who, to ſave her from rudeneſs, when the queſtion was put, for whom was ſhe intended? they repeatedly cried out, for Talaſſius: a word, which afterwards was adopted in the marriage ceremonies.

The conſternation occaſioned by this proceeding having interrupted the games, the parents of the young women, in ſorrow fled from the city, exclaiming bitterly againſt the Romans, for violating the laws of hoſpitality, and invocking the vengeance of that god, to countenance whoſe games they had come to Rome, betrayed under the ſpecious pretence of religion and public faith. Nor were the hopes of the young women more ſanguine, nor their reſentment leſs poignant.

But Romulus, in perſon, went about and informed them, "That whatever had happened was entirely owing to the pride of their fathers, who had refuſed to "give them in marriage to their neighbours: but, that "nevertheleſs, they ſhould be joined by indiſſoluble ties "to their fortunes and freedom, as well as to their perſons. And, moreover, what would ſtill be a more "endearing connexion, they would be united with their "huſbands in the tender affection of parents of the ſame

* From Sabus their founder.

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" children:—that now they ought to soften their re-
" sentment, and surrender their hearts to those men,
" to whom fortune had given possession of their per-
" sons.—That from wrongs and injuries, love and
" friendship had often proceeded; and that they would
" find their husbands behave themselves with so tender
" an affection, as would leave them no cause to regret
" the loss of either parents or country."

To these soothing expostulations, we may add the caresses of the husbands, pleading in excuse the ardour of their passion and violence of their love; pleas, which seldom fail to operate with success on the female heart.

CHAP. X.

Opima Spolia presented to Jupiter Feretrius.

BY this time the passion of the ladies had greatly subsided; but their parents all the while, were going about in a pitiful dress, endeavouring by tears and lamentations, to stir up their states to revenge: nor did they confine their complaints to their own country, but assembled from all quarters to Titus Tatius, king of the Sabines, to whom, as being the most conspicuous character in these countries, all embassies were addressed. The Cæninenses, Crustumini, and Antemnates, had their share in the indignity. To them Titus and his Sabines seemed slow and inactive, for which reason, having formed a triple alliance among themselves, they prepare for hostilities.

Still were the motions of the Crustumini and Antemnates too slow for the ardour and fury of the Cæninenses, so that they alone make an incursion upon the Roman territories; but Romulus meeting them with his army, as they were ravaging the country, in straggling parties, soon convinced them in a slight skirmish, that fury, unsupported by strength, is impotent in the extreme. Their army is defeated, routed, and pursued. Romulus killed their king with his own hand, and stripped him of his armour. Their general being slain, the city scarce stood an attack. Then Romulus returning with his victorious

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army, and being now diſtinguiſhed by his gallant actions, to which, in the repreſentation, he could do great juſtice, bearing before him the ſpoils of the enemy's general, ſuſpended on a frame nicely contrived for the purpoſe, goes up in ſtate to the capitol, where he laid them down at the foot of an oak, ſacred among ſhepherds. With the preſent, he delineated with his eye, the limits of a temple to Jupiter, giving him, at the ſame time, a ſurname; "O Jupiter Feretrius *, ſays he, "to thee do I, "the victorious king Romulus, bear theſe royal arms; "to thee do I dedicate a temple, on that ſpot, which I "have this moment traced out in my mind, to be the "repoſitory of theſe opima ſpolia †, which my ſucceſſors, "following my example, ſhall offer to thee when taken "from kings, or generals of the enemy, whom they "may have the honour to kill in battle." This was the origin of that temple, the firſt that was conſecrated at Rome; and it hath pleaſed the gods, that neither ſhould the words of the founder be uttered in vain, as to this repoſitory of the opima ſpolia, nor that the glory of that atchievement, ſhould loſe ought of its luſtre by the number of thoſe who ſhould have the honour to attain it. Twice only ‡, in the courſe of ſo many years, and ſo many battles, were the opima ſpolia obtained, ſo rare was the acquiſition of that honour.

CHAP. XI.

The Antemnates and Cruſtumini defeated and brought to Rome.

THEN, whilſt the Romans were thus employed, a body of the Antemnates, taking the opportunity of this avocation, make an incurſion into their

* From *ferire*, to ſtrike.

† Some derive *opima* from *ops*, the earth; others from *opus*.

‡ Once by Cornelius Coſſus, who killed Tolumnius king of the Vejentes in the year of the city 318; and again by Claudius Marcellus, who killed Verdumaris, a king of the Germans, in the year of the city, 532.

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country. A Roman legion *, was quickly dispatched againſt them, and coming up with them by forced marches, cut them off, as they were diſperſed in ſmall parties, over the country. Thus was the enemy routed at the firſt ſhout and charge, and their town alſo taken. As Romulus was returning in triumph from this double victory, his wife, Herſilia, wearied out with the importunities of the raviſhed ladies, requeſts of him to be reconciled to their fathers, and receive them into the city, for by ſuch union, there would be, between them, a reciprocation of intereſt. This favour was eaſily obtained.

After this he marched againſt the Cruſtumini, who too had commenced hoſtilities: But here the reſiſtance he met with was feeble indeed. The enemy was quite diſpirited by the overthrow of their neighbours. Colonies were ſent to each of theſe places; but on account of the richneſs of the ſoil, the majority enliſted for Cruſtuminum. From them too there were frequent emigrations to Rome, conſiſting chiefly of the parents and relations of the raviſhed ladies. The laſt, but not the leaſt war they had on this account, was with the Sabines, they were neither actuated by paſſion, nor love of plunder; nor did they threaten before they were ready to execute.

To expedite their deſigns, they had recourſe to a ſtratagem. Spurius Tarpeius was then governor of the citadel. With the promiſe of a ſum of money, Tatius prevailed on a young lady, the governor's daughter, to permit his ſoldiers to enter the citadel in arms; by chance, at that time, ſhe had gone without the walls to fetch water, for ſome ſacred purpoſe. They whom ſhe admitted, either becauſe they thought it more honourable, that it ſhould appear the citadel was taken fairly, or to make her an example to poſterity, that no faith ſhould be kept with traitors, ſmothered her under their bucklers. Becauſe the Sabines, on their left arms, com-

* From *legere*, to chuſe; becauſe the Roman legion conſiſted entirely of choſen men. The number, which at that time conſtituted a legion, is not eaſily aſcertained. Plutarch ſays, 3000 foot and 300 horſe.

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monly wore bracelets of great value, and on their fingers, rings set with jewels: they have added another circumstance, that she contracted with them for what they had on their left arms, and that instead of the golden bracelets, she was covered with their shields. Some also alledge, that in consequence of her bargain, she insisted for their arms, and thus seeming to have acted with duplicity, she got the reward she had urged.

CHAP. XII.

The Romans defeat the Sabines in battle.

THE Sabines, however, got possession of the citadel; but from thence, though the Roman army, the next day, was drawn up along the field, which lies between the Palatine and Capitoline hills, they did not venture into the plain, till the Romans, fired with indignation, and eager to recover the citadel, charged up to their front. The battle was begun by two principal officers, Mettius Curtius, on the side of the Sabines, and Tullus Hostilius on the side of the Romans. He, in spite of the disadvantage of ground, supported the Romans, among the foremost ranks, by his spirited and intrepid conduct. The moment he fell, the Romans gave way, and fled to the old gate of Palatium.

Romulus too, being hurried along with the fugitives, lifting up his arms to heaven; "Jupiter, cried he, commanded by thy birds, I laid the foundation stone of this city on the Palatine hill. These Sabines, by villainous bribery, are already in possession of the citadel. From thence they are pursuing us in arms, having already passed the middle of the valley. But, O father of gods and men, do thou at least enable us to drive the enemy hence, cure the Romans of this panic, and put a stop to their shameful flight. Here, to thee, Jupiter Stator, do I vow a temple, which shall tell it to posterity, that by thy present interposition, this city was saved."

Having finished his prayer, as if he had been convinced that his prayers were heard; "Romans, he cried, Ju-

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" piter, the beſt and the greateſt, orders you from this " moment to ſtop, rally, and renew the engagement." The Romans obey, as if the order had come from heaven. Romulus himſelf, flies to the foremoſt ranks. Mettius Curtius, had come galloping down from the citadel, driving the Romans before him, all along the forum; and when he was within a little of the gate of the Palatium, he bawled, " We have beat our perfidi- " ous hoſts,—our cowardly enemies;—now they are " convinced to their coſt, that to fight with men, and " run away with girls, are very different things."

Whilſt he was vaunting in this inſulting manner, Romulus charged him at the head of a party of gallant young fellows; and, as it happened, that Mettius fought on horſeback, it was the more eaſy to drive him from his poſt. He is put to flight in his turn, and purſued. Another battalion of the Roman army, ſpirited up by the gallantry of their prince, routs the Sabines. Mettius was thrown into a ſwamp from his horſe, rendered unmanageable from the noiſe of thoſe who purſued, a circumſtance, ſeeing their champion in danger, that alarmed the Sabines prodigiouſly. Animated by the cries, and ſigns made to him by his party, he, however, eſcapes —The battle was renewed on both ſides, in the center of a valley, between two hills; but fortune declared for the Romans.

CHAP. XIII.

The Sabine women interpoſe, and obtain a coalition.

BY this time the Sabine women, on whoſe account hoſtilities had commenced, with diſhevelled hair and rent garments, their melancholy circumſtances having rendered them ſuperior to the fear common to their ſex, threw themſelves between the two armies, among ſhowers of darts, with a view to ſtop the effuſion of blood, and ſuſpend the fury of the combatants; beſeeching their fathers, on the one ſide, and their huſbands, on the other; " That they would not impiouſly, being fa- " thers and ſons-in-law, embrue their hands in the blood,

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"the one of the other;—that they would not entail the "reproach of parricide upon their offspring, children "of the one, and grand-children of the other. If, con-"tinued they, you diſlike the connexion, or choice we "have made, let the weight of your reſentment fall up-"on us. It is we who are the cauſe of the war; it is we "who have ſhed the blood of our fathers and huſbands. "We had better be dead, than left widows without the "one, or orphans without the other."

This moving ſcene, very ſenſibly touched the feelings of the army and generals. All was huſh in a moment, when both leaders advanced with propoſals for an accommodation. Matters were quickly adjuſted, and an union of both cities and kingdoms effected. Rome was made the ſeat of the united government. By this coalition, the numbers of the cities being doubled, the Sabines were called *Quirites* from Cures, by way of diſtinction.—As a monument of that battle, the place where Curtius's horſe, ſpringing out of a dry ſwamp, ſet him upon ſhallow water, was called the Curtian lake. This quick and happy tranſition to peace, from a very unnatural war, endeared the Sabine women to their fathers and huſbands, more than ever; and moſt of all to Romulus, who, when he divided the people into *thirty Curiæ*, diſtinguiſhed them by their names.

Though doubtleſs the number of the women exceeded that of the Curiæ, yet it is not ſaid, whether they who gave names to the Curiæ were ſelected to that honour, for their ſeniority, ſuperiority of their own or huſbands rank, or by lot. At the ſame time, three hundred knights were enrolled, and from Romulus, were called *Ramnenſes;* and from Tatius, *Tatienſes*. Why, or how they were called Luceres, is yet a queſtion. From this date, the aſſociate kings ruled in common, on the moſt amicable footing.

CHAP. XIV. *The Fidenates routed.*

SOME years after, the relations of Tatius behaved rudely to the ambaſſadors of the Laurentes, who, when they demanded ſatisfaction, were very little re-

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guarded by Tatius; for which reason the punishment of his relations recoiled upon himself; for the people at Lavinium, where he was attending some annual solemnity, rose up and killed him.—It was said of Romulus, that he gave himself less concern about this event, than it seemed to claim; whether it was, that associates in sovereign power are seldom firm friends, or that he really thought Tatius had met with the fate he deserved: however, no war followed. Only, to expiate in some measure the indignity done the ambassadors, and the murder of the king, the treaty between the two cities, Rome and Lavinium, was renewed. The' peace, of which there was little expectation, had been thus concluded with the Laurentes, another war broke out much nearer, nay, almost at the very gates of Rome.

The Fidenates finding the Roman power was growing too formidable in their neighbourhood, were for striking a blow before it should arrive at that pitch of greatness, which the rapidity of its greatness seemed to point at. Wherefore, having let loose a body of youth in arms upon the Roman territory, they laid waste all the country between Rome and Fidenæ. Then turning to the left, because they were prevented by the Tiber on the right, they continued their depredations, to the great terror of the country people, who flying in crouds from the country to the town, were the first to bring advice of the irruption.

Roused by this intelligence, Romulus instantly leads out his army; for the approaches of the enemy were too near to admit of deliberation. He encamps about a mile from Fidenæ. Marching out with the main body, and leaving only a small party for a guard, he orders a detachment to ly in ambush, in a place entirely covered with brushwood: then advancing with the greater part of the foot, and all the horse, he rode up to the enemy's gates in a disorderly and blustering manner; by which he provocked the enemy to sally out, which was all he aimed at.

The behaviour of the horse too, made the appearance of a sudden retreat seem less affected; for whilst they seemed through fear to hesitate whether they should fight or fly, the infantry drew back also. Upon this,

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the enemy's gates instantly flew open, and out they rush from every quarter. The Roman army fled before them; and by their eagerness to pursue, and to harrass them in their retreat, were decoyed to the place where the party lay in ambush. The Romans, starting up all of a sudden, attack the enemy in flank: the guard which had been left in the camp, advancing at the same time, with colours flying, add to their consternation.—The Fidenates being thus alarmed, from every quarter, took to their heels, almost before it was possible for Romulus, and those who attended him on horseback, to wheel about; and fled in earnest back to the town, much faster than before they had pursued the pretended fugitives. But all could not save them; for Romulus keeping close at their heels, before they could shut the gates, entered among them with his army, as if they had all belonged to the same corps.

CHAP. XV. *The Vejentes conquered.*

THE sparks which issued from the war with the Fidenates, set the minds of the Vejentes on fire. And, their relation, (for the Fidenates were also Etrurians,) added to their vicinity, should this warlike disposition continue with the Romans, to the molestation of their neighbours, blew it up into a flame. Wherefore, they made an incursion into the Roman territories; but it had more the air of a plundering match, than a regular expedition. For, without encamping, or waiting for an enemy, they returned to Veii, loaded with their plunder.

Romulus, on the other hand, finding the enemy had evacuated the country; being already prepared, and now determined to give them a decisive blow, crosses the Tiber. When the Vejentes were informed that he had already encamped, and was on the point of advancing to their city, chused rather to risque a battle, than shut up within, be obliged to fight from their houses and walls. There Romulus, without the least stratagem, by the dint of superior strength, and the exertions of his brave veterans, obtained a complete victory; for he

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routed and purſued the enemy, to the gates of their city, which however, as it was ſtrongly fortified by nature and art, he did not attempt to take. In his return, he laid waſte their country, not for the ſake of plunder, but from motives of revenge. The Vejentes, no leſs humbled by theſe depredations than their late defeat, ſent deputies to Rome to ſue for peace. They were fined in a part of their territory; but obtained a truce for an hundred years.

Theſe are the moſt remarkable tranſactions that happened in the reign of Romulus, both in peace and in war; none of which ſeems to diſcredit his divine original, or the divinity aſcribed to him after his death: neither his courage in recovering his grand-father's kingdom, the wiſdom of his plan in building, nor his œconomy in eſtabliſhing his new city by arms and good policy. For by the ſtrength it acquired, and the progreſs it made under him, it enjoyed profound peace for the ſpace of forty years after. He was, however, a greater favourite with the people than the ſenate; but above all, particularly dear to the ſoldiers, of them, he chooſe three hundred to attend him in arms as a body guard, in peace as well as in war, and called them *Celeres*, or light horſe.

CHAP. XVI.

Romulus is carried out of ſight, and deified.

ROMULUS having thus immortalized his name, by the glory of his actions, as he was harranguing his army, at a review of his troops, in a plain beſide the Goat's pond, a ſtorm of hail and thunder riſing all of a ſudden, hid the king in ſo thick a cloud, as carried him quite out of ſight. Nor did he ever after make his appearance among the people. The Roman youth, having at laſt got the better of their panic, and the day recovered its former calmneſs and ſerenity, when they obſerved the king's chair empty, although they had no doubt that he had been carried up in the air by the hurricane, as they had heard from the ſenators that ſtood next them; yet ſtruck, as it were, with awe, for the loſs of their father, a mournful ſilence for ſome time pre-

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vailed. Then a few of them leading the way, the reſt in one voice ſupported them, ordering Romulus, their king, and founder of their city, the ſon of a God, to be addreſſed as a God. With earneſt prayers they invock his favour and gracious protection on all occaſions, as they had the honour to be his own deſcendents.

I know it has been alledged, that he was torn in pieces by the ſenators; but that report was only retailed in whiſpers, and gained little credit. The preſent conſternation, joined to the veneration they had for their king, ſtamped a currency on the firſt account of the matter, which was ſtill more confirmed by the addreſs of a ſingle witneſs. One Proculus Julius, whilſt the city was affected for the loſs of their king, and far from being ſatisfied with the fathers, enters the aſſembly with a prodigious air of gravity, as coming to deliver a meſſage of ſingular importance. "Romulus," ſays he, "O Romans, the "father of this city, ſuddenly deſcending from his ce-"leſtial manſion, appeared to me early this morning. "Whilſt filled with ſacred horror and reverential awe, "I ſtood beſeeching his permiſſion to look upon him; "Go, ſays he, tell the Romans, it is the will of the "gods, that my Rome ſhall be the capital of the uni-"verſe. Let them therefore cultivate the art of war: "For they muſt know, and they may hand it down to "poſterity, that no power on earth ſhall be able to "withſtand the Roman arms."—When he had thus ſpoken, he aſcended into heaven. The avidity with which this ſtory was received, and the joy diffuſed through all ranks, from a belief of the king's immortality, are equally inconceivable.

CHAP. XVII.

The fathers and people agree to chooſe a King.

IN the mean time, ambition, and plotting about the ſucceſſion to the throne, entirely engroſſed the fathers. They did not form parties for ſupporting the claim of any individual; for no body among a people, ſo lately embodied, was conſpicuous enough to have pretenſions:

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the conteſt was among the orders. The Sabines contended that it was their turn to furniſh a king, as on their part none had ſucceeded to Tatius as joint ſovereign with Romulus; and thereby, their conſtitutional right was in danger of preſcription.

The old Romans could not think of ſwearing allegiance to a foreigner. But however much they differed in theſe particulars, they were all agreed in one eſſential, that they muſt have a king; for they had not yet taſted the ſweets of liberty. The fathers too were under no ſmall concern, leſt, whilſt the city had no governor, and the army no head, they ſhould be attacked by ſome foreign power, eſpecially as their neighbours bore them no good will. Therefore they were determined to have ſome head, though in the choice neither party would yield to the other. For this reaſon, the hundred fathers came to a reſolution of ſharing the ſovereign power among themſelves. For this purpoſe, they divided their number into ten decuries, one being choſen in every decury, who ſhould have the ſupreme direction of affairs; and tho' ten governed, only one of them was attended by the lictors and enſigns of government. Their power continued for five days, and regularly paſſed through the whole for the ſpace of a year, that they had no king.

This interval of regal government, from its own nature, was called an *interregnum*, a name it ſtill retains. After this, the people began to complain, that their ſlavery was increaſed in proportion to the number of their maſters, having now an hundred inſtead of one; and ſeemed determined, for the future, to obey but one king, and him too of their own chuſing. When the fathers ſaw how matters were like to turn, thought it moſt prudent, to make a voluntary reſignation of what they muſt ſoon loſe, and paid a compliment to the people, by yielding to them the ſupreme power, with this ſpecial proviſion, that they ſhould not, by the conceſſion, give up their own privileges. For they enacted, that the people ſhould have the nomination, but that ſhould only be valid, when ratified by the fathers. Upon this law, though it is now obſolete, are founded the forms uſed in elections, and paſſing bills even at this day. For,

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before a ſingle vote is taken up, a convention is called by the ſenate, who can know nothing of the event. Then, the aſſembly being met, the *inter-rex* addreſſes them thus: "Good, fortunate and happy may it be! "Elect, O Romans, for yourſelves a king. The ſenate "give their conſent; and if you pitch upon a prince, "worthy of ſucceeding Romulus, will alſo ratify your "choice." The people conſidered this as a very high compliment; and that they might not be outdone in generoſity, they only voted and enacted, that the election of a king ſhould be entirely left to the fathers.

CHAP. XVIII. *Numa appointed King.*

THERE was, at that time, a man of great reputation for piety and juſtice, called *Numa Pompilius*. He reſided at Cures, a Sabine city, and in the knowledge of all laws, divine and human, the age he lived in knew not his equal. Becauſe they can pitch upon no other philoſopher, they give out, but without reaſon, that he was a diſciple of Pythagoras, the Samian, who, it appears, flouriſhed above a century after him, in the reign of Servius Tullius, and had a number of young men attending him in their ſtudies, in the remoteſt parts of Italy, about Metapontus, Heraclia, and Croton. From which places, had he even been cotemporary with Numa, how could his fame reach the Sabines? By what communication of language, could he excite in any one an ambition for learning? Or, how was he eſcorted, travelling alone, through ſo many nations, whoſe language and manners were ſo widely different?

I am rather of opinion, that Numa owed his extraordinary qualifications, to the force of his own natural genius; and that he was not ſo remarkable for the acquiſition of foreign knowledge, as he was a perfect maſter in the ſevere and rigid diſcipline of the Sabines, formerly in very high repute for its ſtrictneſs and purity. Upon hearing the name of Numa mentioned, the Roman fathers, although they ſaw that the ballance of power would be in favour of the Sabines, ſhould they take a

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king of that nation; yet none of them had the assurance to put himself, or any of his party, or in fine, any of the senators or citizens in competition with him, so then to a man, they all agreed to confer the kingdom on Numa Pompilius.

Being brought to Rome, in imitation of Romulus, who before the city was built, was raised to the throne by Augury, he made it a point that the gods should also be consulted concerning his election. He was then led into the citadel by an Augur, (who ever after had the honour to perform that ceremony on public occasions,) and set on a stone with his face to the South. The Augur sat down on the left, his head covered with a veil, and a crooked rod in his right hand, without a knot, which he called *Lituus*. Having from thence taken a cursory view of town and country, and prayed for him, he marked out the quarters of the heavens, from East to West, calling that to the South, the right; and that to the North, the left; then looking forward as far as his eye could reach, he marked the bounds in his mind. Then shifting the Lituus to his left hand, his right hand being laid on the head of Numa, he prayed thus: "O father, Jupiter, if thou approvest of the "choice of the Romans, in Numa Pompilus, whose "head I hold, to be their king, I beseech thee, give us "some sure and evident signs, expressive of thy pleasure, "within the bounds I have marked out." Then he mentioned the omens he wished to appear; and these being seen, Numa is declared king, and comes down from the temple.

CHAP. XIX.

Numa builds the temple of Janus.

NUMA being thus raised to the throne, lays a plan, by justice, laws, and wise regulations, to give the city a more solid foundation, than that which was laid by force of arms. But as he was extremely sensible, that it would be quite impracticable, amidst the noise and confusion of war, to give minds already grown

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wild with the uſe of arms, a reliſh for the arts of peace, he reſolved to ſoften and extinguiſh their martial ardour by degrees, and therefore builds the temple of Janus, at the end of the ſtreet Argiletum, to be the ſign of peace and war: of war, when open, of peace, when ſhut. Twice only, ſince the reign of Numa, has it been ſhut; once in the conſulſhip of Titus Manlius, after the end of the firſt punic war; and a ſecond time in the reign of the emperor Cæſar Auguſtus, after the battle of Actium, which gave peace by ſea and land; a happineſs it hath pleaſed the gods to grant to our age.

Having made peace with all his neighbours, by treaties or alliances, the temple of Janus was ſhut; for having no apprehenſion of danger from abroad, to prevent licentiouſneſs, the concomitant of idleneſs, in his ſubjects at home, whom fear of the enemy and military exerciſes had always kept in order, he had recourſe to religion; proper impreſſions of which, he conceived would be the moſt effectual means of civilizing a multitude, at that period rough and unpoliſhed to a great degree. But as even theſe impreſſions could be but faint, unleſs they were accompanied with ſomething ſupernatural, he pretends, that in the night time, he was admitted to hold conferences with the goddeſs Egeria; and inſtructed by her, he inſtituted ſuch ſacred rites as would be moſt acceptable to the gods; to each of whom he alſo appointed their reſpective prieſts.

And firſt of all, he made twelve lunar months the meaſure of the year. And becauſe a lunar month does not conſiſt of thirty days complete, and ſome days are wanting to conſtitute a full ſolar year, he managed matters ſo, by inſerting intercalary months, that twenty-four of theſe years taken together, ſhould equal the ſame number of revolutions, and the days ſhould return to the ſame point in the ecliptic. He likewiſe diſtinguiſhed the days into lawful and unlawful; becauſe on ſome days there would be no occaſion for calling aſſemblies of the people.

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CHAP. XX. *Numa teaches religious rites.*

IN the next place, he ſet about the creation of prieſts, although many of theſe offices he performed in perſon, particularly in the department of prieſt of Jupiter. But as in a military ſtate, he forſaw there would be more kings of the diſpoſition of Romulus, than of Numa, who would head their armies in perſon; that the religious duties incumbent on the king might not ſuffer, in the mean time, he inſtituted a prieſt who ſhould conſtantly attend on the ſervice of Jupiter, and diſtinguiſhed him by a rich robe and royal curule chair. To him he added two other prieſts, one for Mars, and another for Romulus. He likewiſe made an election of veſtal virgins, an inſtitution of Alban extraction, with which the founder of the city was materially connected. To theſe he appointed ſalaries out of the treaſury, becauſe their attendance in the temple admitted of no avocation. Their virginity which was perpetual, and ceremonies attending their ordination, rendered their order venerable and ſacred.

He likewiſe appointed twelve Salii *, for Mars Gradivus †, whoſe badge of diſtinction was an embroidered coat, and a breaſt-plate of braſs to be wore above it. The buſineſs of this order was to carry the celeſtial arms, called *Ancilia* ‡, and to walk through the ſtreets ſinging in concert, and dancing in the comic and ſerious ſtile. Then from the Patrician order he chooſed Numa Marcius, the ſon of Marcus for high prieſt, to whom he delivered a ſyſtem of religious ceremonies in manuſcript, ſigned and ſealed, aſcertaining the ſacrifices, the days when, and temples where they ſhould be offered; and the funds whence money to defray the expence ſhould be drawn.

All other things, public and private, reſpecting the worſhip of the gods, he ſubmitted to the judgment of the high prieſt; that the people might never be at a loſs

* From *Salius*, the leader of a band of Muſicians, brought by Evander.

† From *gradiendo*, denoting the regular march to an attack.

‡ From *Anciſa*.

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for advice, or redress, should any innovation be made in their religious ceremonies, either by the neglect of their own, or the substitution of others of foreign growth. But, to preside over matters of religion was not the only business of the high priest. He was also to instruct them in the manner of performing funeral obsequies, and appeasing the manes of the dead: what prodigies from thunder or other phœnomena were to be considered as motives to action, or cautions against it. To gain this divine intelligence, he dedicated an altar to Jupiter Elicius * on the Aventine mount, where he consulted him by Augury, in what acceptation the Auguries should be taken.

CHAP. XXI.

Numa institutes an annual festival, and other sacrifices.

THE minds of the people were now so totally engrossed with these deliberations and expiations, that arms and acts of violence were rather an aversion; and being made sensible that the deity presides over all human affairs, from their constant practice of religious duties, their sentiments of piety were so sincere, that promises and oaths, in the government of the city, were as effectual as the terror of the laws and punishment. And now since the Roman citizens formed their manners upon the plan of their royal master, which all considered as the most perfect model; the neighbouring nations also, who before had viewed Rome, not in the light of a city, but a camp set down in the heart of the country to oppress them, were now impressed with so high an opinion of its sanctity, that, to give the least disturbance to a state entirely devoted to the service of the gods they reckoned the highest sacrilege.

There was a grove constantly watered by a spring, issuing from a dark cave, which ran through the middle of it. Because Numa often retired thither by himself, under pretence of meeting with his goddess, he consecrated the grove to the Muses, where he, they, and his

* From *Allicium*.

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wife Egeria might meet in ſweet council together. To the goddeſs Faith, he alſo inſtituted an annual feſtival. To that ſolemnity he ordered the prieſts to be carried in an arched charſot, drawn by two horſes, having their hands during the ſervice, muffled up to the fingers; importing that Faith ought to be protected, and her ſeat made ſacred, even in the right hands of men. He inſtituted many other ſacrifices, and places where they were to be offered, which the prieſts call *Argei* *. But nothing ſhowed him greater in his political abilities, or patriot virtues, than his addreſs in preſerving the honour of the crown, as well as the peace of the kingdom, during the whole courſe of his reign. Thus two ſucceſſive kings improved and enlarged the ſtate by different maxims, the one by force of arms, and the other by the arts of peace. Romulus reigned thirty-ſeven, and Numa forty-three years; during which, the ſtate had not only acquired vigour, but a firmneſs of conſtitution, by warlike exerciſes, and wiſe regulations.

CHAP. XXII.

Tullus Hoſtilius ſucceeds Numa, and makes war with the Albans.

UPON the death of Numa, the adminiſtration once more returned to an interregnum. Then Tullus Hoſtilius, the grand-ſon of that Hoſtilius, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo nobly in the action with the Sabines, at the foot of the citadel, was declared king by the people, and the fathers confirmed their choice. Tullus was ſo far from reſembling his predeceſſor Numa, that his turn for war was even ſtronger than that of Romulus, his youth, his vigour, and his grand-father's glory, ſerving as ſo many ſpurs to his native valour. Moreover, he thought the citizens, with reſpect to arms, had contracted a ruſt through diſſuitude; and therefore was caſting about on all ſides for an object upon which he might employ his arms. Very opportunely for his views, it happened that the Roman and Alban peaſants had made mutual incroachments and repriſals on each other,

* From Argivi Greeks.

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Caius Cluilius presided then at Alba. To demand restitution, ambassadors were sent much about the same time, from both courts.

The Romans were strictly enjoined by Tullus, not to lose a moment in executing their commission, because being convinced they would meet with a refusal, he would thereby be furnished with a plausible pretence for declaring war. The Alban ambassadors were not so alert, they were received by Tullus with much civility and respect, and enjoyed themselves with him in all the pleasures of social festivity; the Romans, in the mean time, having first demanded restitution, and that being refused them, declared war within thirty days, and returned with the news to Tullus. Then the Alban ambassadors were admitted to an audience, when the design of their embassy was enquired into. Being ignorant of all that had past, they began with long apologies, "That it "was with the utmost reluctance, they should be obliged "to express themselves in any manner disagreeable to "Tullus, and that nothing could have laid them under "that necessity, but the orders of their state.—In one "word, they had come to demand restitution, and in "case of refusal, to declare war."

Tullus answered: "Tell your master, that the king "of the Romans, appeals to the gods, whether Rome "or Alba, did first contemptuously dismiss the other's "ambassadors demanding satisfaction, that upon that "nation, they may heap all the calamities of this war." The Albans return and deliver the message.

Both parties now exert their utmost in making preparations for war;—a war indeed, that had the nearest resemblance to that carried on between factions of the same community, or rather of the same family: for both were of Trojan extraction, because Lavinium was of Troy, Alba of Lavinium, and the Romans were the race of the Alban kings. But the manner in which the contest was decided, prevented the effusion of much blood. for they never came to a general engagement; and both nations became one people, at the expence only of the houses of one city, which were demolished. The Albans were first in the field, and entering the Roman territory, with a prodigious army, encamped and entrenched

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themselves, within five miles of the city. This intrenchment was called the Cluilian ditch, from the name of the general, for some ages, till the ditch and name together felt the victims of time.

In this camp, the Albans lost their leader Cluilius; and for his successor in the command, choosed Mettus Fuffetius. In the mean time, Tullus naturally brave, and animated still more by the death of Cluilius, gave out, that the great God of heaven, having already begun at the head, would not stop there, but take vengeance on the whole Alban nation, as the authors of this unjust war. Wherefore, passing the enemy's camp in the night, he marches into the territory of Alba, with a hostile army. This motion drew Mettus out of his camp, who, having led his army as near the enemy's lines as possible, dispatched a herald with his compliments to Tullus, and orders to tell him, that previous to any engagement, it would be for their mutual interest to have an interview.

Tullus did not decline the meeting; but suspecting it was only calculated to amuse him, draws out his army into the field, as did the Albans also. Whilst both armies stood drawn up in order of battle, the generals escorted by a few of their principal officers advance to meet in the centre between the armies, where the Alban delivers himself thus: "I think I have heard Cluilius "alledge, as the ground of this war, the damages re"ceived from Rome, and refusal of satisfaction, in "terms of the treaty; and, I doubt not, O Tullus, "but on your side, the same plea will be urged: but, if "instead of amusing ourselves with appearances, we "state facts as they really are, it will not be denied that "ambition and a thirst of empire, excite to arms two "nations united both by blood and neighbourhood; "whether justly or not, I shall not determine, that con"sideration belongs to the author of the war, the ma"nagement of which, the Albans have committed to "me as their general. Of one thing, O Tullus, I beg "leave to remind you, that we are both, but you par"ticularly, hemed in by the powerful states of Etrusia; "and as you lie nearer them than we, you must be the "more sensible of the propriety of this observation. By

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"land they are powerful, and mighty by sea. Re-
"member, that the very moment the signal of battle
"shall be given, they will become spectators, and will
"not fail to attack the conquerors and conquered,
"equally weakened and exhausted by fighting against
"each other. Wherefore, if we are not destined to
"destruction, since not satisfied with the liberty we
"enjoy, we will run the hazard of empire or slavery;
"let us adopt a plan for ascertaining this point, with-
"out much loss of blood, or prejudice to either." The proposal was not disliked by Tullus, though his native courage, and hopes of victory, inclined him more to a battle. Whilst they were deliberating on the method to be taken, chance pointed out a way agreeable to both.

CHAP. XXIV.

Treaty relative to the Horatii and Curiatii.

THERE were, at that time, in each army, three twin-brothers, differing very little, either in point of years or strength. That the brothers on the one side, were called the Horatii, and the other, the Curiatii, is admitted by all; nor can antiquity produce an instance of gallantry more noble. Yet in the history, celebrated as it is, there is still a doubt, to which side, the names respectively belonged. In this point, authors differ; but most are of opinion, that the Horatii were Romans, which I am inclineable to follow.

The generals on each side, propose to the brothers respectively, to decide by their swords, the fortune of their countries; and withal, to remember, that sovereignty was to be the certain consequent of victory. Both accepted with joy; and the time and place is fixed for the combat: previous to which, it was confirmed by treaty between the contending powers, that the nation to whom the victors belonged, should command and govern the other, by just and equitable laws. Other treaties may have different clauses, but they are all expede in the same uniform method.

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This treaty was ratified in the following form; and it is surely the most antient recorded in history. A herald put the question to king Tullus, "Is it your pleasure, "O king, that I enter into a treaty "with the Pater Patratus of the people of Alba?" The king answering in the affirmative; "Give me then "vervain, O king," continued he; "take it up pure," rejoined the king: the herald took up a pile of pure grass from the temple, and then put this second question; "Do you, O king, constitute me the royal ambassador "of the Roman people? Do you appoint me an equi- "page and a retinue?" To which, the king made answer, "Whatever I can do without prejudice to my- "self, or the Roman people, that I do." The herald was Marcus Valerius, who nominated Spurius Fusius, the pater patratus, touching his head and hair with vervain.

It is the business of the pater patratus to administer the oath, by which the treaty is ratified, and this he does in a long form of words, too tedious to mention: the several clauses and conditions being all read over; "Hear, O Jupiter," says he, "give ear, O pater pa- "tratus of the Alban people; and ye, O people of "Alba, hear; that the Romans shall not be the first to "depart from these conditions, which, out of these "waxed tables, without fraud or equivocation, have, "from first to last, been read over in your hearing, in "the real acceptation in which they are this day taken "and understood. And if, by public authority, or "fraudulent design, they should be the first to break "through these conditions, may thou, O Jupiter, that "moment so strike the Roman people, as here, this day, "I strike this hog; and may thy stroke, great Jupiter, "be as much heavier, as thy power is greater."— Having thus spoke, he struck the hog dead with a flint. The Albans took their own oath, and went through their own forms, with their own dictator and priests.

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CHAP. XXV.

The combat of the Horatii and Curiatii.

THE treaty being thus concluded, the three brothers on each side take arms, according to agreement. Whilst each party are animating their respective champions, by representing that their gods, their country, their fathers and mothers, the whole city and army had their eyes fixed on their swords and actions. The combatants, brave of themselves, and still more invigorated by such pressing exhortations, advance to the centre between the two armies. The two armies were ranged on both sides round the field of battle, safe from danger for the present, but anxious for the future, because empire was at stake, depending on the exertions and fortune of so few. Wherefore, agitated with these reflections, and solicitous about the event, they turn their whole attention to a sight, which could not be very agreeable.

The signal is given, and the champions march boldly three and three against each other, themselves alone inspired with the courage of great armies. Both insensible of their own danger, having nothing before their eyes, but the slavery, or liberty of their country; the future destiny of which, must entirely depend upon their present exertions. The moment the clashing of their weapons is heard, and the glitter of their swords seen, the spectators seized with fear and alarm, whilst hopes of success inclined to neither side, continued motionless, and seemed to have lost the power of speech, and even of breathing. When they were thus fairly engaged, not only the motion of their bodies, and the brandishing of their weapons, attracted the eyes of the spectators, but the wounds and blood running from them. Two Romans droped dead at the feet of the Albans, who were wounded all three. Their fall was instantly announced by the loud and joyful shouts of the Alban army, whilst the Roman legions remained without hope, but not without anxiety, trembling for the single Roman, who now stood sur-

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rounded by the three Albans. Happily he was not wounded.

Thus, though he was no match for them altogether, he was more than a match for any of them ſingly. Therefore, to ſeparate his opponents, he takes to flight, being perſuaded they would follow him, with more or leſs expedition, as their ſtrength, after ſo much loſs of blood, would permit them. Having now got a little way from the ſeat of action, he turned and ſaw the Curiatii purſuing him at conſiderable diſtances from each other, and one of them not far behind him. Upon him he turns with all his force, and while the Alban army were crying out to his brothers to aſſiſt him, Horatius having already diſpatched his man, runs to a ſecond engagement. It was then the Romans animated their champion with great ſhouts, ſuch as generally proceed from unexpected joy, whilſt he, on the other hand, made haſte to finiſh his buſineſs; and before the other, who was at no great diſtance, could come up to aſſiſt his brother, he laid him breathleſs at his feet.

Their number on each ſide was now equal, but their ſtrength and hopes very different. The Roman, yet without a wound, and flushed with his double victory, advanced with great ſpirit to the third combat. His antagoniſt, on the other hand, weakened with the loſs of blood, and ſpent with running, can ſcarce ſtand upon his legs; and being already vanquiſhed in the fall of his brothers, encounters the victor. But this could not be called a combat. The Roman then cried out with an air of triumph, "The two firſt I have ſacrificed "to the manes of my brothers, the third I am now to "ſacrifice to the honour of my country, that Rome "may give laws to Alba." Curiatius could ſcarce ſtand up under his arms, ſo the other plunged his ſword in his boſom, and ſtriped him as he lay dead.

The Romans receive Horatius into their camp with expreſſions of joy and acknowledgements, proportioned to the riſque they had run. After this, both parties apply themſelves to bury their dead; but with minds widely different: the Romans having acquired a conſiderable acceſſion of power, whilſt the Albans were become their ſubjects. Their tombs are ſtill to be ſeen on

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the very ſpot where each of them fell; theſe of the two Horatii nearer Alba, and of the Curiatii towards Rome; but on different ſpots, where they reſpectively fell.

CHAP. XXVI. *Horatius arraigned and acquitted.*

BEFORE they left the ground, Mettus went up to Tullus, and in terms of the treaty, aſked his commands. Tullus orders him to keep the youth in arms, as, in caſe of a war with the Vejentes, he might have occaſion for their aſſiſtance. After this both armies returned home.

Horatius marched at the head of the Romans, bearing before him the triple ſpoils he had ſo glorioufly obtained. His ſiſter, promiſed in marriage to one of the Curiatii, came out to meet him at Porta Capena. Perceiving on her brother's ſhoulders, a military cloak wrought with her own hands, and preſented to her future ſpouſe, ſhe tears her hair, and ſheds a torrent of tears, in mournful accents, calling upon her lover now no more. The young conqueror offended with his ſiſter's lamentations, amidſt the public joy and his triumph, ſtabs her in the tranſport of his paſſion, with theſe ſevere reproaches, "Go, unnatural ſiſter; go to thy lover with "thy unſeaſonable paſſion: thou, who forgetteſt thy "dead brothers, thy living brother, and thy country. "Thus let her periſh, who ſhall ever dare to lament the "death of an enemy to Rome."

To the ſenate and people of Rome, this ſeemed a nefarious deed; but the luſtre of his recent victory pleaded ſtrongly for the offender. He was dragged, however, to ſtand his trial before the king; who to avoid paſſing a ſentence in ſo diſmal and unpopular an affair, or ordering execution, after ſentence ſhould be pronounced, having called an aſſembly of the people, "I appoint "Duumvirs, ſays he, to try Horatius according to law. "The law was of a horrible tenor. Let the Duumvirs "judge of the felony; if the pannel appeal from their "ſentence, let his appeal be received: If their ſentence "be confirmed, let him be hood-winked, and hanged

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" with a rope upon an accurſed tree, having been firſt " ſcourged, either within or without the Pomœrium."

Thus were Duumvirs appointed, who thought, according to the letter of the law, they could not acquit him, even had he been innocent. Wherefore, having found him guilty, one of them condemned him in theſe words: " Publius Horatius, I judge thee guilty of mur- " der; Go, Lictor, bind his hands." The Lictor had come up, and was faſtening the rope, when Horatius, by the advice of Tullus, a mild interpreter of the law, cried out, " I appeal:" upon which, the cauſe was carried before the people.

During the trial, the judges were moved with compaſſion, eſpecially, when old P. Horatius cried out, " That " it was his own opinion, his daughter had juſtly me- " rited her fate; for, had he thought his ſon criminal, " he would, by his paternal authority, have puniſhed " him." Then having recourſe to intreaties, conjuring them not to render him childleſs now, whom but a little before, they had ſeen bleſſed with an excellent progeny. In the mean time, the old man embracing his ſon, and pointing to the ſpoils of the Curiatii, depoſited in that place, which they now call *Pila Horatia*: " Is it poſſi- " ble, continued he, O Romans! that you can tamely " behold this brave champion, who, but a little while " ago, walked in your ſight, glorious and triumphant, " adorned with the ſpoils of your enemies, bound to an " infamous ſtake,—expiring amidſt ſcourgings and tor- " tures? A ſpectacle ſo ſhocking, that even the Albans " could hardly bear! Go, Lictor; bind thoſe victorious " hands, which ſo lately, in arms, acquired empire for " the people of Rome; veil the head of the deliverer of " this city; hang him on an accurſed tree; ſcourge " him either within the Pomœrium, ſo it be done " amidſt the *Pila Horatia* *, and ſpoils obtained by his " valour; or without the Pomœrium, provided it be " among the tombs of the Curiatii: For which way can " you lead this youth, where he ſhall not find in the " monuments of his glory, a protection againſt the ig- " nominy of ſuch a puniſhment?"

* A ſquare pillar built of ſtone.

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The people could not hold out againſt the tears of the father, nor ſufficiently admire the undaunted ſpirit of the ſon, which was proof againſt every danger. He was therefore acquitted, rather out of a regard to his bravery, than from a conviction of the juſtice of his cauſe. But not to leave ſo manifeſt a murder wholly unpuniſhed, the father was ordered to make ſatisfaction for him out of the public treaſury. At the ſame time, having made ſome expiatory ſacrifices, which were ever after kept up in the Horatian family, he ſet up a gallows in the high way, under which his ſon behoved to paſs, hood-winked, as if he had paſſed under the yoke. The remains of the gallows may be ſeen at this day, repaired at the public expence, known by the name of the *Siſter's Raſter*. A tomb of ſquare ſtones was erected for Horatia, in the place where ſhe was killed.

CHAP. XXVII. *The Albans revolt.*

THE peace with Alba did not hold long. The people were highly offended, that the fate of the whole nation had been committed to the arms and gallantry of three combatants, which put the fluctuating genius of the dictator upon new ſchemes, with a view, ſince good policy had not ſucceeded with him, to recover the eſteem and confidence of his citizens, by the moſt perfidious deſigns. Wherefore, as but lately he had courted peace, when he had war for an alternative, ſo now, in peace, he wiſhes for war. And conſcious that the power of the Albans was by no means equal to their inclination, he makes it his buſineſs to ſtir up other ſtates to make war openly and avowedly, whilſt he and his people, under the maſk of allegiance, ſhould act as traitors.

The Fidenates, a Roman colony, in concert with the Vejentes, their allies, aſſured of the revolt of the Albans, take the field. The Fidenates having thus openly declared themſelves, Tullus ſends for Mettus and his army from Alba, and marches againſt the enemy. Having croſſed the Anio, he encamped at its conflux with the Tiber; between which place and Fidenæ, the Vejentes had croſſed the Tiber. They draw up on the right towards the river, and the Fidenates on the left, towards

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the mountains. To the Vejentes, Tullus oppoſes his Romans, and to the Fidenates, the Albans. Mettus, as deſtitute of courage, as of honour, durſt neither maintain his poſt, nor paſs over at once to the enemy, but withdrew imperceptibly up the hills; till finding he was ſufficiently remote, that he drew up on the eminence; and to ſpin out the time, whilſt he was ſtill in ſuſpence, he extended his line. His purpoſe was, whatever way fortune ſhould flow, to follow the tide.

The Romans, who were poſted next them, were ſtruck with amazement at firſt, when they ſaw their flanks left expoſed, by the deſertion of their friends; and they inſtantly diſpatch a trooper, at full gallop, to inform the king, that the Albans were retiring. Tullus, amidſt this conſternation, vows twelve Salii and temples to *Pallor* and *Pavor*. Then rebuking the trooper, with a voice loud enough to be heard by the enemy, he orders him back to his poſt, telling him, that he had nothing to fear, for it was by his orders the Albans had made a circuit, that they might fall on the unguarded rear of the Fidenates. He alſo orders the cavalry to carry their ſpears high; by which expedient the greateſt part of the Roman foot ſaw nothing of the motions of the Albans. They who obſerved them, thinking only of what they had heard from the king, fought with the greater ardour. The panic was now transferred to the enemy; for they had heard diſtinctly what the king ſaid, and moſt of the Fidenates, as being a Roman colony, underſtood Latin. Wherefore, that their retreat from the town might not be cut off by the ſudden deſcent of the Albans, they made the beſt of their way. Tullus purſues: and that wing where the Fidenates were poſted being thus routed, he falls with redoubled fury on the Vejentes, who were already diſheartened by the flight of their allies. Nor could they ſtand ſo vigorous a charge: The river, however, which was in their rear, obliged them to keep in a body. At laſt, when they could ſtand it no longer, many of them quitting their arms, threw themſelves headlong into the river; others, whilſt they were deliberating on the banks whether to fight or fly, were cut to pieces.—This perhaps was the hardeſt work the Romans ever had.

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CHAP. XXVIII. *Mettus Fuffetius punifhed.*

THEN the Alban army, who had only been ſpectators of the action, were led down into the plain. Mettus congratulates Tullus on his victory, and Tullus returns the compliment with a good grace. He then orders the Albans to join their camp to his, and wiſhes much proſperity to follow the junction. Preparations are made for a ſacrifice of purification againſt next day.

All things being prepared, as uſual, both armies are ſummoned to an aſſembly. The heralds beginning at the outmoſt lines, gave the firſt intimation to the Albans, who inſtigated with curioſity, crowded round the king to hear his ſpeech. The Roman legion ſtood round the Albans, as previouſly ordered, in arms; and the Centurions were appointed to ſee the orders put in immediate execution.

Then Tullus addreſſes himſelf as follows: "If ever, "O Romans, in any war, you had reaſon firſt to thank "the gods for their protection, and to congratulate "yourſelves, on your own bravery, it was certainly in "yeſterday's action. For you had to contend not only "with your enemy's forces, but what is much more "dangerous and terrible, with the treachery and per"fidiouſneſs of friends. For, be no longer deceived, it "was not by my orders, the Albans retired to the hills. "I ſuffered you to believe, and even declared aloud, "that it was my command, that you might not take "the alarm at being deſerted, and to ſpread terror "among the enemies, who thought they were to have "been attacked in the rear. But all the Albans are "not culpable. They followed their leader, as you "would have done; had I given you the like orders. "It was Mettus drew them after him: It was Mettus "who was the contriver of this war: It is Mettus who "is the violator of the Roman and Alban treaty. Let "any one copy after him, if I do not make him this "day a notorious example to all mankind." At that inſtant, Mettus was ſurrounded by the Centurions in arms, and then the king proceeded in continuation.

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" For the advantage, prosperity, and felicity of the " Roman people; for my own, and for yours, O Albans, " I am resolved to remove all the inhabitants of Alba " to Rome, to make the people citizens, and the nobles " senators. In one word, to unite the two nations in " one city, and one commonwealth, that as Alba once " formed two nations of one, she may now return to " unity again."

The Alban youth, at these words, were variously agitated in their minds; but seeing themselves surrounded with armed soldiers, they were all impressed with the same common fear, which kept them silent. Tullus, then turning to Mettus, resumed his discourse, " If," said he, " you could learn to be true to your " word, and faithful to treaties, I would suffer you to " live, and be myself your instructor; but as I see your " disposition is incurable, you shall, by your punish- " ment, teach mankind, to hold those things sacred " and inviolable, which you have disgracefully infringed. " As therefore in yesterday's action, you kept your mind " divided between Rome and Fidenæ, so shall you " to-day, give your body to be divided and torn " asunder."

Then he ordered two chariots to be brought, drawn by four horses, and Mettus to be tied thereon, stretched at full length. The horses were then drawn different ways, and his body torn in peaces, each chariot carrying along with it, the members which had been tied to it. The spectators could not stand the shocking sight, but turned away their eyes.—This was the first and last punishment among the Romans, that seemed inconsistent with the laws of humanity. In all other instances, they could boast, that no other nation punished with less severity.

CHAP. XXIX. *Alba destroyed.*

IN the mean time, the horse had been previously dispatched to Alba, to bring the people to Rome; and after that, the foot, to demolish the city. Their entry there, was not attended with that tumult and confusion,

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which generally accompany the taking of towns, when the conquerors, breaking open the gates, battering down the walls, or forcing the citadel, ſpread themſelves through every quarter, and with dreadful cries deſtroy all with fire and ſword. But here a mournful ſilence and ſullen grief had ſo arreſted every faculty, that through fear, they forgot what they left behind, or ſhould carry with them, liſtleſs and abſent, often aſking one another the ſame queſtions. One while they ſtood motionleſs at the doors of their houſes, and another ran through them in diſtraction, only to ſee them for the laſt time. But when the horſemen became clamorous and urgent for their departure, when they now heard from the remoteſt corners of the city, the noiſe of the falling houſes, when the duſt, riſing in different places, had darkened the horizon; then ſnatching up what they could, they march away, leaving behind them, houſehold gods, country gods, and the roofs under which they had been born and brought up.

Already had along train of emigrants lined the ſtreets. The mutual ſight of their calamities, by a natural ſentiment of compaſſion, made tears of ſympathy flow afreſh. Lamentations and mournful cries were heard, eſpecially of the women, when in paſſing their auguſt temples, they ſaw them beſet with armed men, and left their gods, as it were, priſoners of war. When the Albans were all out, the Roman ſoldiers levelled to the ground all the buildings, public and private. Thus, in one hour, the work of four hundred years, the time Alba had ſtood, was entirely demoliſhed, and razed to the ground. The temples, however, by the king's expreſs order, were ſpared.

CHAP. XXX.

The Albans made citizens of Rome. War declared againſt the Sabines.

ROME, in the mean time, improved greatly upon the ruins of Alba. The number of citizens was doubled. It was then that mount Clælius was added to the city; upon which Tullus built a palace for himſelf,

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and reſided ever after, to encourage others to build there alſo. He admitted among the patricians, the principal families of Alba, ſuch as the Julii, Servilii, Quintii, Geganii, Curiatii, and Clælii, that the Patrician order might be increaſed in proportion: and upon this acceſſion to the order, he built a temple for a ſenate-houſe, which our fathers knew by the name of Hoſtilia. And that every order might derive ſome additional ſtrength from the acceſſion of the Albans, he formed, from among that people, ten centuries of knights. With them alſo he recruited the old, and formed new legions.

Being now confident of his ſtrength, he declares war againſt the Sabines, a nation, at that time, next the Etrurians, the moſt populous and powerful of all their neighbours. Incroachments had been made, and ſatisfaction demanded by both parties, to no purpoſe. Tullus complained, that ſome Roman merchants had been ſeized at a public market, near the temple of Feronia: the Sabines, that ſome of their people were detained at Rome, although they had fled for protection to the aſylum.

From theſe injuries, the war is ſaid to have originated. The Sabines, being well aware, that their ſtrength had ſuffered a conſiderable diminution, in the party incorporated by Tatius, with Rome; and that the Roman power had been conſiderably increaſed by the acceſſion of Alba, thought proper to look about for foreign aid. Etruria lay next them; and of that country the Vejentes were their neareſt neighbours. From thence they drew volunteers, who, when the aſhes of former wars were raked up in their minds, were eaſily prevailed on to revolt. Vagrants too among the poorer ſort, enliſted in their ſervice for pay; but by public authority, they had no aſſiſtance: for the Vejentes ſtrictly obſerved the treaty made with Romulus; and it is not ſurpriſing that they were joined by none of the other powers.

Both parties having made all poſſible preparations, and nothing remaining now, but to ſtrike the firſt blow, Tullus begins to march his army into their country. A bloody action enſued, near the malefactor's forreſt, in which the Roman army proved far ſuperior, not only in the weight of their infantry, but alſo by the late

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augmentation of the horſe. It was by a vigorous charge of the Roman horſe, that the ranks of the Sabines were firſt broke; after which, they could neither fight, nor fly, without being expoſed to a moſt dreadful ſlaughter.

CHAP. XXXI. *Tullus killed by lightning.*

AFTER this defeat of the Sabines, when the adminiſtration of Tullus was in high repute, and the Roman affairs in a moſt flouriſhing ſtate, news were brought to court, that it rained ſtones on mount Alba. As the thing ſeemed incredible, proper perſons were ſent to examine into it more minutely, who ſaw them fall thick from heaven, like hailſtones driven by the wind in balls along the ground. Moreover, they thought they heard a voice thundering from the grove on the ſummit of the hill, enjoining the Albans, in ſacred matters, to obſerve the rites of their country, which they had totally overlooked, as if they had abandoned their gods with their country; having either conformed to the religion of Rome, or being diſſatisfied with fortune, had given themſelves no trouble about religion, as often happens in ſuch caſes.

Upon account of this prodigy, the Romans too, either inſtigated by the voice thundering from mount Alba, for that is alſo alledged; or by the advice of the Aruſpices, inſtituted expiatory ſacrifices, which laſted nine days: Certain it is, that the ſame kind of ſolemnity is yet in uſe; for, whenever the city has been alarmed with any ſimilar prodigy, nine days have always been employed in ſuch expiations.

Not long after, the plague raged among them; which, though it checked their military ardour, Tullus, who breathed nothing but war, gave them no reſpite from arms; pretending, that the youth had a better chance in action abroad, than in idleneſs at home; till, at length, he was himſelf ſeized with a lingering diſtemper. Then his ſpirits, great as they were, fell ſo low, and his body ſo weak, that he, who hitherto had thought it a weakneſs unbecoming a king, to mind the ceremonies and obſervances of religion, all at once became a ſlave to the

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loweſt and moſt childiſh ſuperſtitions; and, by his example, the people were alſo infected. For the Romans, in general, returned to the ſame ſpirit that prevailed under Numa, perſuaded that no other means were left them of eſcaping from the preſent calamity, but recourſe to the gods, and appeaſing their wrath with ſacrifices.

It is alſo ſaid, that the king himſelf, in examining the regiſter of Numa, found that there were certain private ſacrifices offered annually to Jupiter Elicius, which he ſhut himſelf up to perform. But ſomething being wrong, either in point of time, or mode of execution, he ſaw no ſign from heaven of its acceptance; and beſides, Jupiter was ſo provoked at his miſtaken zeal, that he and his houſe were conſumed with fire from heaven *.—Tullus reigned with great glory for thirty-two years.

CHAP. XXXII. *Ancus Martius renews the inſtitutions of Numa.* A. R. 114.

ON the death of Tullus, the adminſtration, agreeably to the conſtitution, devolved on the Senate. They named an *interrex;* who, having called a convention, Ancus Martius was declared king by the people, and the Senate confirmed their choice. He was the grandſon of Numa, by a daughter. The new king, mindful of his grandfather's reputation, found, that however glorious the laſt reign had been in other reſpects, in the worſhip of the gods, either in point of frequency, or mode of performance, there had been a prodigious neglect. Therefore, to avoid all innovations, he reſolved to reſtore the inſtitutions of Numa; and for that purpoſe, he orders the high prieſt to collect them from the royal regiſter, and tranſcribe them upon tables, to be expoſed to public view.

From this ſpecimen, his own ſubjects fond of eaſe, and the neighbouring nations too, gladly hoped, that the king would implicitly follow his grandfather's plan in civil, as well as religious matters. In this confidence, the Latins, with whom Tullus had ſettled all things by treaty, began to pull up a ſpirit; and, having made an incurſion upon the Roman territory, treated with in-

* The fire from heaven is aſcribed to Ancus Marcius.

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ſolence the Roman ambaſſadors ſent to demand ſatisfaction, imagining, that the Roman king would waſte his time in indolence among chapels and altars.

The ſpirit of Ancus ſeemed to partake equally of the genius of Numa and Romulus. He eaſily ſaw that pacific meaſures, in the reign of his grandfather, when the people, naturally fierce, had been but lately ſettled, was the beſt policy; but now, it would be no eaſy matter for him, to enjoy the peace which had diſtinguiſhed his grandfather's reign, unleſs he ſhould reſolve tamely to put up with inſults; that his patience had been already tried, and his good nature deſpiſed; for which reaſon, to Rome, at preſent, a Tullus was more neceſſary than a Numa.—However, as Numa, in time of peace, had inſtituted the ritual, with reſpect to religion, the ceremonials, with reſpect to war, ſhould be his care; that war might neither be proclaimed, nor carried on, but in proper form. From the antient nation of the Æquicolæ *, he borrowed that ceremony, obſerved by the heralds, even at this day, when ſatisfaction is demanded. The ambaſſador, the moment he reaches the frontiers of that people, upon whom he is to make the demand, his head being covered with a woollen cap, cries out, "Give "ear, O Jupiter; hear ye confines, [naming the country;] "let juſtice hear. I am the public ambaſſador of the "Roman people; I come with a legal and juſt commiſ"ſion; let credit be given to what I ſay." Then he makes his demand, and takes Jupiter to witneſs. "If "I with any fraudulent, or wicked intent, demand theſe "perſons and theſe effects to be reſtored to me, then "may I never return to my country again."

Theſe words he repeats, as he enters the frontiers, to the firſt man he meets, as he enters the gates of the city, and as he goes into the market place, with the variation of a few words in the form of the ſpeech and oath. If his demand be not ſatisfied, in thirty-three days after ſuch requiſition, for ſo many days are allowed, he then declares war, in words to the following effects. "Hear, "O Jupiter; and you, O Juno, Romulus, and all ye "gods in heaven, in earth, and hell, give ear: I take

* A highland people, inhabiting the hills above the Tiber.

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" you to witneſs, (naming the people, whoever they " are,) that this is an unjuſt people, who act not agree- " ably to the principles of equity. But we will conſult " the fathers in our own country, how we may beſt " compell them to make reſtitution."

Upon this he returns to Rome for advice; when the king lays the matter before the ſenate, in words, nearly as follow: " Concerning ſuch matters, diſputes, and " quarrels, as the *Pater Patratus* of the Roman people, " hath declared to the *Pater Petratus* of the antient " Latins; and ſuch things, as ought by the antient " Latins to have been yielded, granted, and done; and " the which, by them, have not been yielded, granted, " nor done. Say," continued he, addreſſing himſelf to the perſon whoſe opinion he firſt aſked; " give me your " opinion. I think, [returned the other,] that they ſhould " be compelled to make reſtitution, by fair and open " war; for this I declare myſelf, and give my vote ac- " cordingly."—Then the vote went round in order.

When the majority preſent declared themſelves of the ſame opinion, war was then ſaid to have been unanimouſly determined on; when the herald, bearing a lance headed with iron, or dipped in blood, and burnt at the end, went to the confines of the offending power, and in the preſence of three witneſſes, each at leaſt fourteen years of age, cried out, " Becauſe of the injuries done " to, and committed on the people of Rome, by the " people of the antient Latins, and the antient Latin " men. Becauſe the people of Rome have commanded " that war ſhould be made upon the Latins; and the " ſenate of the people of Rome hath voted, agreed, and " determined, that war ſhould be denounced againſt the " antient Latins; I and the people of Rome do hereby " war proclaim, denounce, and make upon the people " of the antient Latins, and antient Latin men:" and with theſe words, he darted a lance againſt the enemies lands.—This then was the mode of demanding reſtitution, and proclaiming war againſt the Latins, which poſterity have ever after adopted.

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CHAP. XXXIII.

The Latins conquered, and made free of the city.

ANCUS having committed the care of religious matters to the Flamens and other prieſts, and having levied a new army, marched againſt Polytorium, and took it by ſtorm.

Then, following the example of his predeceſſors, in adding to the population of the city, by admitting the conquered nations, he tranſported all the inhabitants to Rome. And becauſe all the ground about the Palatium had been aſſigned to the antient Romans, that about the capitol and caſtle to the Sabines, and mount Cælius to the Albans, the Aventine mount was appointed for the new people. Soon after, another ſet from Tellini and Ficana alſo taken, were ſtationed in the ſame quarter. Polytorium ſuffered a new ſiege, ſometime after this, having been a ſecond time peopled by the Latins. For this reaſon it was razed to the ground, that it might not be a place of refuge for the enemy.

After this, Medulla became the ſeat of the war, where ſeveral battles were fought with various ſucceſs, in which neither party had much advantage: for the town was defended by ſtrong works, and an able garriſon; and the Latin army, being encamped in the open plain, had ſeveral ſkirmiſhes with the Romans. At laſt, Ancus muſtering all his force, for the firſt time, obtained a complete victory, and returned to Rome with a conſiderable booty. On that occaſion too, many thouſands of the Latins were received into the city, and accommodated with ground to build upon near the temple of Murcia, in order thereby to join the Aventine and Palatine hills. Janiculum was alſo added, not for want of room, but leſt at any time it ſhould become a lodgment to the enemy. He thought proper alſo to join it to the city, not only by a wall, but alſo, for the convenience of travelling, by a wooden bridge; the firſt that was ever thrown over the Tiber.

The *Foſſa Quiritium*, which rendered the city leſs acceſſible from the lower grounds, was alſo the work of

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Ancus. The number of inhabitants being so considerably increased, in such a multitude, to distinguish between a good action and a bad, was no easy matter; so that many secret acts of villainy were committed. Wherefore, to check such growing licentiousness, he built a prison in the heart of the city, overlooking the forum.—Under the auspices of Ancus, the city was not only enlarged, but the Roman territories extended.

The forrest *Mæsia* was taken from the Vejentes, the Roman Domain carried out to the sea, Ostia built at the mouth of the Tiber, salt-pits dug about it; and, in gratitude for his extraordinary success, he enlarged the temple of Jupiter Feretrius.

CHAP. XXXIV. *Lucumo comes to Rome.*

IN the reign of Ancus, Lucumo, a man of great substance and address, came to settle at Rome. Ambition, and the hopes of rising to honours in the state, a thing he found quite impracticable in his native Tarquinii, as his father was a foreigner, were the leading motives to this measure. He was the son of Demaratus of Corinth, who having fled from his country for seditious practices, happened to settle at Tarquinii, where he married, and had two sons, Lucumo and Aruns. Lucumo survived his father, and succeeded to his estate; but Aruns died before him, leaving his wife pregnant. The father did not long survive him, and being ignorant of the circumstance of his step-daughter's pregnancy, made no provision for it in his will. The posthumous grand-child, having been disinherited before he was born, was, from that very circumstance, called Egerius.

Lucumo, on the other hand, having now become sole heir of his father's fortune, and his spirits rising with his circumstances, became still more elevated upon his marriage with Tanaquil, a lady of great distinction, who could not easily bear the thoughts, that the rank of the man she had married, should be below what her birth and high connexions intitled her husband to have. In short, disdaining to live in her native city, where her husband was not respected according to his merit, because

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he was the ſon of an exile, ſhe perſuades him to leave Tarquinii. Rome, of all others, ſeemed to be the moſt eligible retreat. In a new ſtate, where nobility is the perquiſite of merit, and but of ſhort ſtanding, a man of courage and addreſs, would bid fair for diſtinction. Tatius, though a Sabine, was raiſed to the throne. Numa was called to the ſame dignity from Cures. Ancus was born of a Sabine mother, and had no other badge of nobility, than a ſingle ſtatue of Numa.

Her arguments prevailed with Lucumo, who was naturally ambitious, and attached to Tarquinii, from no other conſideration, but that it gave birth to his mother. Wherefore, having ſent off their effects, they ſet out for Rome. They happened to ſtop at the Janiculum, where, as he ſat in the chariot with his wife, an eagle, falling gently with ſpread wings, took off his cap, and fluttering over the chariot with a prodigious noiſe, as if ſent down from heaven on purpoſe, replaced it orderly on his head, and then ſoared aloft. It is ſaid, that Tanaquil received the omen with raptures, being much verſed in celeſtial prodigies, as the Etrurians generally are, and embracing her huſband, encourages him to look up for great honours and preferment; aſſuring him, "That the bird had "come from a quarter of the heavens, peculiar to Ju- "piter himſelf, whoſe meſſenger he was. That it had "taken the omen from the vertical point of man, and "lifted the ornament of the human head, to replace it "there by command of the gods."—Full of theſe thoughts and expectations, they entered the city; and having purchaſed a houſe, he went under the name of Lucius Tarquinius Priſcus. Being a foreigner and very rich, he ſoon became conſpicuous at Rome; where, by the affability of his demeanour, frank invitations, and obliging manner of conferring favours, he procured himſelf friends, and promoted his intereſt; inſomuch, that at laſt, he came to be mentioned at court, where, by diſcharging his duty about the king with aſſiduity and politeneſs, he ſoon became a very great favourite, and was admitted a privy counſellor: And having, on all occaſions, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his integrity and abilities, he was at laſt appointed guardian to the royal family, by the king's laſt will.

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CHAP. XXXV. *Lucumo succeeds Ancus.*

ANCUS reigned twenty-four years, inferior to none of his predeceſſors, in the arts of peace or war. His ſons had now almoſt reached the age of fourteen, for which reaſon, Tarquin preſſed to bring on the election of a new king, with the utmoſt expedition. An aſſembly of the people being called, he ſent out the princes on a hunting match, at the time of their meeting. It is remarked of him, that he was the firſt, who openly ſolicited for the crown, and had a public harrangue, calculated to ſecure his intereſt with the people; telling them, "That he did not aſk a thing unprecedented or "uncommon, as he was not the firſt, but the third fo-"reigner, who had aſpired to the ſovereignty of Rome, "ſo that none need wonder, or take offence at his pre-"ſumption. That Tatius was both a foreigner, and "an enemy, when he was made king; and Numa, a "ſtranger to the city, was called without ſoliciting it, "to that high office. That he, the moment he could "diſpoſe of himſelf, had removed to Rome with his "family and fortune, where he had ſpent a greater part "of his life, than where he drew his firſt breath, and a "part too beſt calculated for the diſcharge of civil "offices. That he had ſtudied the Roman laws, both "ſacred and civil, in peace and in war, under king "Ancus himſelf, a maſter, of whom he had no reaſon "to be aſhamed. For loyalty and reſpect to his ſove-"reign, he was ſecond to none; and for generoſity and "beneficence to others, not even to the king himſelf."—Whilſt he was enumerating theſe circumſtances in his favour, which, by the bye, could not be diſputed, he was declared king by a great majority of the people.

The ſame ambition which actuated Tarquin, a man, in other reſpects, of an unexceptionable character, in canvaſſing for the crown, he alſo diſcovered after he had obtained it. For, being no leſs attentive to the eſtabliſhing of his own authority, than the aggrandizement of the ſtate, he created an hundred new ſenators, who, from that time, were diſtinguiſhed by the title of *Senatores minorum gentium*; a party, no doubt, that would

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continue firmly attached to the prince, by whose favour they were raised to that dignity.

The first that felt the weight of his resentment, was the Latins. From them he took Appiolæ by storm; and, having returned with much more booty than could have been expected, from an expedition so inconsiderable, he celebrated his games at an expence, and with a magnificence, above any of his predecessors. The place for the Circus, now called *Maximus*, was then first marked out, and divisions made for the senators and knights, where they might erect scaffolds for their accommodation during the games. These scaffolds were called *Fori*, and supported by forked posts, twelve feet high. The games consisted chiefly in horses and boxers, brought from Etruria; and, from that period, have continued to be celebrated every year, being sometimes called the Roman, and sometimes the great games. To private families also the prince let out the ground about the Forum, for shops and piazzas.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Tarquin makes war with the Sabines.

HE was making preparations for raising a stone wall round the city; but a war with the Sabines interrupted his designs. The incursion was so unexpected, that before the Roman army could march out to stop their progress, they had crossed the Anio. Wherefore, great was the alarm at Rome, and in the first engagement, though numbers fell on both sides, the victory was disputed.

After this battle, the enemy returned to their camp, and the Romans got time to recruit. Tarquin, sensible that his army suffered much for want of horse, resolved to add other centuries to the Ramnenses, Titienses, and Luceres, and to distinguish them by his own name.

As Romulus had instituted this order by augury, Attus Navius, at that time much celebrated for his skill in the art, contended that no alteration, or new appointment could be made, without the approbation of

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the birds. At this, the king flew in a paſſion, and in ridicule of the art, as it is ſaid, "Come, you conjurer," ſays he, "tell me by augury, whether, what I juſt now "conceive in my mind, can be effected?" The other, when he had conſulted his birds, returned and told the king, it could ſurely be done. "Truly then," ſays the king, "I was juſt thinking within myſelf, whether it "were poſſible to cut this flint with this razor: do, take "them, and perform what your birds ſay is poſſible." In a moment, they ſay, he cut the flint.—A ſtatue of Attus, with his head veiled, was erected in the Comitium upon the ſtairs, on the left of the ſenate-houſe, where the affair happened. They likewiſe add, that the flint was depoſited in the ſame ſpot, where it might remain, as a monument of the miracle to poſterity.

This affair brought ſo much credit on augury, and the college of augurs, that no matter of any moment, in peace or war, was ever after carried into execution, till the birds were conſulted. Aſſemblies were broke up, armies diſbanded, and negotiations, the moſt important, broke off, when the birds were averſe.

Tarquin, at that time, made no alteration in the centuries of horſe, ſave only, that he doubled the compliment of men in each corps; ſo that the three centuries conſiſted of one thouſand eight hundred knights.

CHAP. XXXVII. *Tarquin beats the Sabines.*

HAVING thus augmented his cavalry, he had another bruſh with the Sabines: and, although his army had been conſiderably reinforced; yet, with all the ſecrecy he could, he put in practice the following ſtratagem. He diſpatched a party to ſet fire to a heap of timber, as it lay on the banks of the Anio, and afterwards to throw it into the river. The timber thus ſet on fire, and driven by the wind, catched hold of the piles and boats, and ſo ſet the bridge in a flame. This contrivance damped the Sabines not a little in time of action; and, after they were routed, greatly retarded their flight; ſo that many of them, who might have made good their retreat, were drowned in the river,

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which carried their arms floating with the current, to publiſh this ſignal victory at Rome, before the arrival of the expreſs.

The principal honour, in this action, was due to the horſe; for, as they were poſted in the two wings, and obſerved the infantry, which compoſed the main body of the army, already giving way, it is ſaid, they charged ſo briſkly in flank, that they not only gave a check to the Sabine legions, who were carrying all before them, but obliged them to retreat with precipitation. The Sabines fled to the mountains in great diſorder, which only few of them reached; the greateſt part, as formerly obſerved, having been puſhed by the cavalry into the river.

Tarquin determined to make the moſt of their terror, ſent the priſoners and booty to Rome; and having piled up and ſet fire to the ſpoils, which he had vowed to Vulcan, advanced with his army into the Sabine territories. Although the Sabines had got a ſevere check, and could ſee no proſpect of being able to retaliate; yet, as there was no time for deliberation, they came out with an army tumultuouſly aſſembled; but they were routed again: and being now reduced to the laſt extremity, ſued for peace.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

He builds a wall round the city, and drains the water from the vallies.

COLLATIA, and the country about it, in conſequence of this victory, was ceded to the Romans, and Egerius, the king's nephew, left governor of the place. It is, however, affirmed in hiſtory, that Collatia capitulated, and ſurrendered in the following form. The king put the queſtion, "Are you delegates and "deputies commiſſioned by the people of Collatia, to "ſurrender yourſelves and them? We are. Are the "people of Collatia their own maſters? They are. "Do you then ſurrender yourſelves, the people of "Collatia, their city, their lands, their water, their "marches, temples, utenſils, and every thing ſacred,

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" or civil, belonging unto them, into my power, and " that of the Roman people? We have done it. And " I receive them."

The Sabine war being thus concluded, Tarquin returned to Rome in triumph. Then he made war upon the antient Latins; and, without coming to a general engagement, by appearing before their towns, one after another, he subdued the whole nation. The cities, Corniculum, Old Ficulnea, Cumeria, Crustumerium, Ameriola, Medullia, Nomentum, were either taken from the Latins themselves, or from those who had revolted to them. Now there was peace, when he turned his mind upon carrying on the works he had begun in it, even more keenly, if possible, than he had done the war, that the people might have no more idle time at home, in peace, than abroad in arms. For he not only made preparations for drawing a stone wall round that part of the city which had not been fortified, the beginning of which, had been interrupted by the Sabine war; but because the water could not be easily carried off from the flat grounds, he drained the low places of the city about the Forum, and the other vallies lying between the hills, by common sewers, which were drawn sloping to the Tiber. Moreover, he levelled an area, for laying the foundation of a temple to Jupiter, in the capitol, which he had vowed in the Sabine war, anticipating even then in idea, the future greatness of the place.

CHAP. XXXIX. *A strange Phænomenon.*

ABOUT this time, a very surprising phænomenon, followed by an event no less so, happened in the palace. The story goes, that in presence of many, the head of a boy, called Servius Tullius, seemed all in flames, whilst he was asleep. The prodigious noise occasioned by this strange appearance, awaked the royal family, and when one of the servants was fetching water to extinguish the flame, he was stopt by the queen, who, after the confusion was over, ordered that no body should stir the boy, till he should awake of himself. Very soon the flame disappeared with the child's sleep.

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Then Tanaquil taking her husband aside, "See you "that child," said she, "whom we educate so meanly? "Let me tell you, he will one day, be a light to us in "our distress, and a protection to our house, when we "need it most. Let us, therefore, from this moment, "train up this youth with the utmost care, for whom, "in a public, as well as private capacity, great honours "are reserved."

From that moment, he was treated as their own, and instructed in every science, calculated to excite men of spirit to aim at high fortune. What heaven is pleased to countenance, requires little cultivation from man. Servius soon discovered a princely disposition; and when they looked about for a son-in-law to the king, was there one among all the Roman youth, who could in any qualification, bear a comparison with him. The king therefore gave him his daughter in marriage.

Whatever it was that raised him to this honourable distinction, it certainly discredits the conjecture, that he was either born of a slave, or that he himself, when a child, had ever been in the servile line. I am rather of their opinion, who think, that after the capture of Cornicolum, the wife of Servius Tullius, who had been a grandee in that city, was left pregnant, when her husband was killed; and that when she came to be known among the rest of the prisoners, in consideration of her rank, was rescued from slavery by the Roman queen, and was delivered at Rome in the royal palace.—That the child, having been brought up at court, from his infancy, had been much caressed and esteemed there; an extraordinary friendship between the Ladies having taken place upon so signal an indulgence; and that the mother's estate, which, after her country was taken, became the perquisite of the conquerors, gave rise to the surmise that he was the son of a slave.

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CHAP. XL.

Tarquin killed by a plot of the ſons of Marcius.

TARQUIN having reigned now upwards of thirty-ſeven years, Servius Tullius had not only by far the greateſt ſhare of the royal favour, but alſo ſtood very high in the eſteem of both ſenate and people. About this time alſo, the two ſons of Marcius, who had always reflected with indignation, that their guardian had artfully tricked them out of their father's kingdom, and ſecured it to himſelf, a ſtranger, deſcended of no family in Rome, nay, not even in Italy; when they obſerved that the kingdom was not like to revert to them, even after the death of Tarquin, but to become the perquiſite of the refuſe of mankind, ſet no bounds to their reſentment. "What! ſaid they, ſhall the Roman ſtate, "a century after Romulus, its founder and ſovereign, "while on earth, whoſe extraction was divine, and himſelf ranked among the Gods, be given to a ſlave?— "the ſon of a ſlave, to reign over it, while we, the ſons "of Ancus, are living? Shall the Roman throne ly open "not only to ſtrangers, but even to ſlaves? Would not "this be a reproach to the Roman name, and an indelable ſtain on that illuſtrious houſe, which can never "be wiped off?"

By the ſword, therefore, they reſolve to do themſelves juſtice. But their indignation for the injuries they had received, was rather excited againſt Tarquin than Servius; as the revenge of a king was more to be dreaded than that of a private man: moreover, ſhould they deſtroy Servius, Tarquin might provide himſelf in another ſon-in-law, who could alſo ſucceed him: for theſe reaſons the plot was laid againſt the king himſelf. Two of the moſt reſolute among the ſhepherds, were choſen for executing their villainous purpoſe. They had each ſuch iron inſtruments as they uſe to carry in the country; and pretending to quarrel at the gate of the palace, made ſuch a prodigious noiſe, that they brought all the officers of the court about them. Then, when they both appealed to the king, the noiſe they made reaching the

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inmoſt rooms of the palace, they were called, and accordingly went before the king. Upon their firſt appearance, they bawled out both at the ſame time, the one ſtriving to interrupt the other; but, when checked by the Lictor, and ordered to ſpeak each in his turn, they gave over their railing. One of them then, as had been concerted, began to tell his ſtory; to which, while the king was all attention, the other lifting up his hatchet, threw it againſt his head, and leaving the weapon in the wound, both ran inſtantly out of doors

CHAP. XLI. *Tarquin ſucceeded by Servius Tullius.*

WHILST ſome of the company haſtened to aſſiſt the wounded king, the lictors purſued the ruffians, and ſeized them. By this time there was a great noiſe and concourſe of people about the palace, wondering what could be the matter. During the confuſion, Tanaquil orders the palace gates to be ſhut, and having cleared it of the crowd, ſhe carefully gets every thing ready for the cure of the wound, as if there had been hopes of her huſband's recovery; at the ſame time, ſhould no hopes remain, ſhe plans other expedients for her ſecurity. Servius being called, in all haſte, ſhe carries him to her expiring huſband, and taking his right-hand in her's, ſhe conjures him, that he would not ſuffer his father-in-law's death to paſs unrevenged, nor his mother-in-law to be expoſed to the inſults of her enemies. "If you are a man, Servius, continued ſhe, the crown "is thine, not theirs, who, by the hands of aſſaſſins, "have committed the moſt execrable villainy. Take "courage then, and follow the Gods thy conductors, "who foretold thy future glory, by the divine fire which "ſhone around thy head: let that cæleſtial flame now "warm thee. Rouſe thyſelf now in earneſt. We who "were ſtrangers have reigned here. Conſider who, not "of whom, thou art. If your own counſels are at a "ſtand, by reaſon of this unexpected blow, follow "mine."

When the noiſe and preſſure of the mob became intolerable, Tanaquil addreſſes the people from a window in an upper ſtorry, opening to the new ſtreet; for Tar-

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quin's palace ſtood near the temple of Jupiter Stator: telling them, "to make themſelves eaſy:—that the king "had been ſtunned with the ſudden blow; but that the "wound was not deep:—That he had now come to "himſelf:—That the wound had been ſearched, and "the blood waſhed away; and ſhe hoped matters were "in ſuch a train, that they would ſee him ſoon. In "the mean time, it was his orders, that they ſhould "obey Servius Tullius, who would adminiſter juſtice, "and perform every other office incumbent on the "king."

Servius, upon this, went out dreſſed in the Trabea *, attended by the Lictors, and being ſeated on the throne, determines ſome cauſes, and leaves others undetermined, till he ſhould conſult the king. Thus therefore, though Tarquin had been already dead, by concealing that event for ſome days, he had an opportunity of ſtrengthening his intereſt, under the pretence of acting by deputation from his father-in-law.

When at laſt the event was made public, and the lamentations ſet up in the palace, Servius ſurrounded with a ſtrong guard, was the firſt who was advanced to the throne by the ſenators, without waiting for the conſent of the people †.—The ſons of Ancus, having now been informed, that the aſſaſſins they employed were ſeized, that the king was ſtill alive, and Servius's party ſo very ſtrong, went, of their own accord, into baniſhment, to Sueſſa Pometia ‡.

CHAP. XLII.

Tullius routs the Vejentes, and conſtitutes the Cenſus.

SERVIUS not only ſtrengthened his intereſt by his attention to public buſineſs, but alſo by plans concerted in private; for, that the ſons of Tarquin might not be actuated by the ſame ſpirit of reſentment againſt

* The Trabea, was the ordinary habit of the Roman monarchs; and differed from the Toga, in this particular, that it was adorned with ſtrips of purple, at proper diſtances from each other, on a white ground.

† A. U. C. 176. ‡ Now Ciſterra Pontina.

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him, which the ſons of Ancus had diſcovered againſt his predeceſſor, he gave his two daughters in marriage to the two young princes, Lucius and Aruns: yet this precaution could not prevent the unalterable decrees of fate, nor ſecure him againſt the envy attending a crown, which was productive of the blackeſt treaſons, and ſcenes of the groſſeſt barbarity, even in his own family.

Very ſeaſonably for the preſent tranquillity, war was undertaken againſt the Vejentes, (the truce with them being now expired,) and the other ſtates of Etruria. In that war, fortune conſpired, with his own native gallantry, to enoble Tullius: for, having routed the enemy's prodigious army, he returned to Rome, ſovereign of the affections of ſenate and people. After this, he ſets about the works of peace, which, of all others, are the moſt ſalutary: and as Numa had been the author of the religious polity of Rome, that poſterity might have reaſon mention Servius with reſpect, as author of the ſeveral orders and ranks in the ſtate, whereby the different degrees of dignity or fortune are aſcertained; he inſtituted the cenſus; the effects of which were moſt ſalutary in a ſtate, that promiſed to arrive at ſuch a pitch of greatneſs: for by it the charges of peace and war were not levied by the head as before, but in proportion to their eſtates reſpectively. He then divided the people into claſſes and centuries, according to his cenſus; a regulation very proper both in peace and war.

CHAP. XLIII.

He divides the people into claſſes and centuries.

OF thoſe whoſe fortune amounted to, or exceeded 100,000 * aſſes of braſs, he made up eighty centuries; one half whereof were of the aged citizens, and one half of the younger. Theſe together were called the firſt claſs. The deſign of the elder part, was to have them always at hand to guard the city; of the younger, to carry arms abroad. The arms aſſigned them were a helmet, a round ſhield, boots, a coat of mail; all of braſs. Theſe were deſigned for defence; a ſpear and

* £ 322 18 4.

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ſword were alſo given them as weapons of offence. To this claſs were added two centuries of mechanics, who were to ſerve without arms, and to be employed in carrying the military engines.

The ſecond claſs comprehended thoſe whoſe eſtates amounted to 75,000 aſſes of braſs*, and upwards to 100,000; and of theſe including old and young, were made up twenty centuries. Their arms were in every reſpect the ſame as thoſe mentioned above, excepting that they had an oblong ſhield, inſtead of a round one, and no coat of mail.

The third claſs he appointed to conſiſt of thoſe who were rated at 50,000 aſſes†. Theſe again, with reſpect to difference of age and number of centuries, were diſtinguiſhed in the ſame manner as the ſecond; nor was there any alteration in their arms, but that they had no boots.

In the fourth claſs, the valuation was eſtimated at 25,000 aſſes‡, and the centuries the ſame as in the third. This claſs had no defenſive arms; but their offenſive were a ſpear and a long javelin.

In the fifth claſs, the centuries were encreaſed to thirty; and were armed with ſlings and ſtones. Among them were reckoned the Accenſi‖, the blowers on the horn, and pipers, divided into three centuries. This whole claſs conſiſted of thoſe, who were rated at 11,000 aſſes§.

The ſixth claſs comprehended all ſuch as were below the laſt rate; and of them one century was made up, which was exempted from carrying arms.

The infantry being thus arranged and accoutred, he raiſed twelve centuries of horſe from among the principal citizens; and to the three centuries inſtituted by Romulus, he added ſix others, by the ſame names aſſigned them at their firſt inſtitution. Ten thouſand aſſes** were given them, to lay out upon horſes, out of the treaſury; and for the maintainance of theſe horſes, the

* £242 3 9. † £161 9 2. ‡ £80 14 7.

‖ Supernumerary officers; or, according to Varro, aids-di-camp to the Generals and Tribunes.

§ £35 10 5. ** £32 5 10.

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widows were taxed in 2000 asses * yearly. All these burthens were taken off the poor, and laid on the rich; upon whom, to balance the account, was conferred an addition of honours: For they did not now vote by poll, as instituted by Romulus, and followed by his successors, nor were their suffrages of equal weight; but a subordination was established, by which none seemed to be deprived of the right of voting, and at the same time, the balance of power lay entirely on the side of the principal citizens.

The knights were first called, then the eighty centuries of the first class. If they happened to differ, which was rarely the case, the second class was called; and it was seldom known, that they ever came so low as the last class. It needs be no matter of wonder, that the present regulation, since the increase of the tribes to thirty-five, should differ from the number of centuries of young and aged citizens, instituted by Servius Tullius, since they are now double the number, of what they were at that time. For, having divided the city into four parts, according to the quarters and hills which were then inhabited, he called these divisions *tribes*, I fancy, from the tribute they paid; for, he made out a scheme for levying the taxes, according to the valuation of estates, so that these tribes had not the least relation to the number and division of the centuries.

CHAP. XLIV.

Enlarges the pomœrium, and adds several hills to the city.

THE Census being thus completed, which the dread of the fine, enacted against those who should neglect to enroll themselves in the censor's books, had greatly accelerated, he published an edict, requiring all the Roman citizens, horse and foot, ranged according to their respective centuries, to appear in the Campus Martius, by break of day, under the pain of imprisonment and death. Then, having drawn up his whole

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army, he purified them by the ſacrifice of a ſow, a ſheep, and a bull; and this was called the finiſhing ſtroke of the luſtrum, becauſe then the cenſus was completed.

It is computed, that eighty thouſand citizens were inrolled in that cenſus. Fabius Pictor, the oldeſt hiſtorian we have, adds, "That this was the number of citizens, fit to bear arms." To accommodate this great number of people, it was thought neceſſary to enlarge the city: in conſequence of which, he added two hills, the Quirinal *, and Viminal †, and ſoon after, the Eſquiline ‡; where, to give a reputation to the place, he dwelt himſelf. He fortified the city with a rampart, ditches, and a wall quite round it; and conſequently enlarged the pomœrium.

They only who have a regard to the natural ſignification of the word, will have the pomœrium to be a ſpace of ground without the walls: but it is rather a ſpace on each ſide of the wall, which the Etrurians formerly, in laying the foundation of cities, conſecrated by augury, extending to certain lines on each ſide of the wall, they intended to raiſe: ſo that the houſes might not be joined to it on the inſide, as they do generally at preſent, and that on the outſide, there might be ſome ground left untilled. This ſpace, which could neither be plowed, nor built upon, is by the Romans called *pomœrium* ‖, not more becauſe it lies without the walls, than becauſe the walls ly without it. And, on all occaſions, when the city was enlarged, in proportion as the walls, ſo this conſecrated ground was alſo extended.

CHAP. XLV.

Builds a temple to Diana, in conjunction with the Latins.

THE ſtate being thus improved, the city enlarged, and every thing in it modelled to the beſt advantage, for the practical purpoſes of peace and war, that they might not always depend upon arms for their reſources, he endeavoured to extend his empire by good

* Three miles round.
‡ Four miles round.
† Two miles and an half round.
‖ Poſt murum. aut mœrum.

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policy, at the same time, that he added to the dignity of the city.

At that time, there was a temple of Diana at Ephesus, much celebrated. It is reported to have been built by contributions from all the states of Asia. Servius took occasion to commend these people very highly, for their unanimity in matters of religion, before the Latin nobility, with whom, both in his public and private capacity, he had studied to live on the most friendly footing; and by resuming the subject frequently, he at last carried his point so far, that the Latins joined with the Romans, in the expence of building a temple to Diana. This was a plain acknowledgement, that Rome was their capital, a point, which they had often disputed with their swords.

Altho' the Latins now seemed to have droped all concern about what they had so often attempted to establish in vain; fortune seemed to point out to one of the Sabines, an opportunity of recovering the superiority to his country, by a private scheme of his own. A certain Sabine had a heifer brought forth among his cattle, remarkable for her size and beauty. Her horns, which were hung up in the porch of the temple of Diana, remained for many ages, a monument of her enormous bulk. The thing was considered, and it could not well be doubted, in the light of a prodigy, and the sooth-sayers had foretold, that the man, who should sacrifice this heifer to Diana, should certainly fix the sovereignty of his country. This prediction, had also reached the ears of the high priest of Diana. The Sabine, on the first day that seemed proper for the sacrifice, drove the heifer to Rome, led her to the temple of Diana, and set her before the altar. Then the Roman priest, struck with the extraordinary size of the victim, which had been so much celebrated by fame, at the same time, recollecting the prediction, thus addresses the Sabine: "What do you propose, "friend?" says he, "to offer sacrifice to Diana, with "unclean hands? why do not you first wash yourself "in running water? The Tiber runs in the valley "below."

The stranger being impressed with a scruple of conscience, and wishing that every thing might be in such a train, that the event might turn out agreeable to the

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prodigy, immediately repairs to the Tiber. In the mean time, the Roman ſacrificed the heifer to Diana, which gave univerſal ſatisfaction to the king and all the city.

CHAP. XLVI.

Tullius accuſed by young Tarquin.

ALTHOUGH long poſſeſſion had now eſtabliſhed Servius on the throne; yet, becauſe he heard that young Tarquin was ſometimes giving out, that he had uſurped the ſovereignty, without the conſent of the people, having firſt ſecured their good will, by dividing among them impartially, the conquered lands, he then ventured to put the queſtion, "Whether they willed "and commanded him to be their king?" Upon which they recognized him king, with an unanimity ſcarce ever known before. But this was ſo far from diſcouraging Tarquin, or giving a check to his ambition, that it only confirmed his hopes: for, beſides the impetuoſity of his own temper, he was conſtantly dunned with the ſolicitations of his wife Tullia; he was not ignorant, that the diviſion of the conquered lands among the people, was not agreeable to the fathers, and therefore, he concluded, that he had a noble opportunity, in accuſing Servius to the ſenate, of raiſing his own reputation.

This produced a ſcene of the moſt inhuman and ſavage cruelty in the court of Rome: That the people diſguſted at monarchy, might the ſooner enjoy the ſweets of liberty, and that he ſhould be the laſt king, who ſhould uſurp the title, by the commiſſion of the worſt of crimes. This Lucius Tarquinius, (whether he was the ſon, or grandſon of Tarquinius Priſcus, is a queſtion; but out of reſpect to moſt authors, I ſhall call him his ſon) had a brother called Aruns Tarquinius, remarkable for ſweetneſs of diſpoſition. To theſe brothers, as we have formerly obſerved, the two Tullias, the king's daughters, who were alſo very different in their tempers, had been married. It had ſo happened, by the good fortune, very probably, of the Roman people, that the two violent tempers were not united, by which means, the

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the life of Servius was prolonged, to form the morals of the ſtate.

The ſavage Tullia, was prodigiouſly fretted, that ſhe could find in her huſband no ſpark of ſpirit or ambition; for which reaſon, ſhe was all in raptures with Lucius; him ſhe admired; it was he that deſerved the name of a man:—he was indeed of the blood royal. Her ſiſter ſhe deſpiſed, who, though ſhe was matched with a man of ſpirit, had not the reſolution of a woman. A ſimilitude of tempers ſoon produced an intimacy between them; for the wicked are the fitteſt company for each other.

However, this ambitious woman laid the foundation of all the tragical ſcenes that enſued. She had been in uſe to have private converſations with her ſiſter's huſband, when ſhe threw out the bittereſt invectives againſt her huſband to his brother, and againſt her ſiſter to her huſband; and inſiſted, that it were better they were both free, than ſo improperly matched, to be obliged to languiſh in obſcurity, owing to the deadneſs of thoſe with whom they were reſpectively connected. If the gods had given her the huſband ſhe merited, ſhe would ſoon have ſeen the ſovereign power in her own family, which ſhe now ſees in her father's.

By ſuch inſinuations, the young man quickly imbibed all the venom of her malignant ſoul. Aruns Tarquinius and the younger Tullia, were buried almoſt at the ſame time, to make way for a new connection, which accordingly happened, rather without oppoſition from Servius, than with his conſent.

CHAP. XLVII. *Tarquin uſurps the throne.*

FROM this period, Tullius's old age became every day more burthenſome, and his throne more uneaſy. For, after one crime, this fury immediately ſet about the contriving another. Neither night, nor day, did ſhe ſuffer her huſband to reſt, leſt the parricides they had already committed, ſhould loſe their intended effect. "What!" ſaid ſhe, "do you think I wanted a man "merely to be my huſband, with whom I might live a "ſlave in obſcurity? No; give me a man who thinks

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"he is not unworthy of a kingdom; who remembers "that he is the son of a king; and one who would rather be in possession now, than look for a kingdom. "If you are the man, whom I think I married, I must "call you both husband and king; if not, I have made "a miserable change, because I have got a coward in "a murderer. Why do not you bestir yourself? You "have no occasion, like your father, to come from "Corinth, or Tarquinii, in quest of a kingdom amongst "foreigners: your household gods, the gods of your "country, the statue of your father, the palace where "you dwell, the regal throne in that palace, and the "very name of Tarquin, create and call you king. "But, if none of these things can rouse you to action, "why do you deceive the expectations of the people? "why do you suffer them to regard you as a man "of a princely soul? Go, coward; get you hence to "Tarquinii, or Corinth, and sink into the former ob"scurity of your family, since you have more in you "of your brother, than your father."

By these, and such reproaches, the young man's mind was set on fire; nor could she be at rest herself. "If "Tanaquil," thought she, "who was a foreigner, had "the address to dispose of the kingdom twice successive"ly, first to her husband, and then to her son-in-law, "shall I, who am born a princess, have no influence "whatever, in taking away, or bestowing a crown?"

Tarquin, impelled by the reveries of this mad-woman, renewed his intrigues among the senators, particularly those of the last creation, putting them in mind of his father's favours, for which he now was soliciting a return. The young men he engaged to his interest by presents, promising to do wonders in his administration: and wherever he went, charging the king with the blackest crimes. At last, when he found a proper opportunity for putting his design in execution, surrounded with a body of armed men, he forced his way into the forum; and whilst all present were struck with terror, placing himself on the throne in the senate-house, he ordered the fathers to be summoned to attend king Tarquin, in the house, by the public crier. They immediately obeyed; some because they were in the plot,

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others through fear that their abſence might be made a crime, being aſtoniſhed at the ſurpriſing revolution, and fully convinced it was all over with Servius.

Then Tarquin began his invectives againſt the king with the obſcurity of his birth: "That being a ſlave, "and the ſon of a ſlave, he had, after the cruel murder "of Tarquin his father, poſſeſſed himſelf of the king-"dom; not after an *inter-regnum*, according to cuſtom, "nor by the free voices of the people, nor the appro-"bation of the ſenate, but by the mere artifice of a wo-"man. Thus deſcended, and thus created king, he "had ever been the favourer of mean wretches like him-"ſelf; and out of hatred to the Patricians for their "noble birth, he had ſtript them of their eſtates, to "diſtribute them among the vileſt of the people: That "the burdens, which before were common to all, he had "heaped on the nobles alone: That he had inſtituted "the cenſus, that the fortunes of the rich might be "more viſible to the eye of envy, and be ready, when-"ever he had a mind, to throw them away among "beggars."

CHAP. XLVIII.

Tullius murdered by L. Tarquin, at the inſtigation of Tullia.

WHILST he was yet ſpeaking, Servius appeared, having been alarmed with the news of what was going on, and immediately from the porch of the ſenate-houſe cries out with a loud voice, "What is it you mean, "Tarquin? What is it that has made you ſo audacious, "to convene the ſenate, and take poſſeſſion of my throne, "while I am alive? I only take poſſeſſion, replied he "ſternly, of my father's throne, to which, I am ſure-"ly much better entitled, than my father's ſlave; a "ſlave that has been too long permitted to inſult his "maſters." The partizans on both ſides ſet up a ſhout, and the people crowded into the ſenate-houſe; it ſeeming now to be paſt a doubt, that the ſovereign power would follow the victory in this ſtruggle.

Then Tarquin, compelled by neceſſity to out-brave

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every difficulty, having much the advantage in youth and ſtrength, ſeized Servius by the waiſt, and carrying him out of the ſenate-houſe, threw him from the top to the bottom of the ſtairs, and then returned to hold the ſenate. The king's officers and attendants make the beſt of their way. He himſelf quite faint, was returning home, ſupported by a ſmall retinue, half dead with fear, and had got to the top of the Cyprian ſtreet, when he was overtaken and ſlain by a party ſent out by Tarquin for that purpoſe.

This happened, it is thought, by Tullia's advice; as ſhe had been deeply concerned in all the other villainous plots: One thing however is certain, that ſhe drove in her chariot, and without minding the crowd about her, ſhe called her huſband out of the ſenate-houſe, and was the firſt to ſalute him king; and being ordered by him to retire out of the crowd, on her way home, when ſhe had reached the upper part of the Cyprian ſtreet, where lately ſtood a temple of Diana, as ſhe was wheeling to the right, towards the Virbian aſcent, which was the way to the Eſquiline hill, the charioteer, ſtruck with horror, checked his horſes, and made a ſtop, pointing to the body of Servius, which lay murdered in the ſtreet.

Cruel and inhuman is the action that is ſaid to have followed upon this; of which the place itſelf exhibits a proof: they call it the wicked ſtreet, in which Tullia, racked and tortured with the furies of her huſband and ſiſter, is reported, in a fit of madneſs, to have driven her chariot over the body of her father, and to have carried home on her cloaths and chariot, part of his blood, to her own houſe gods, and thoſe of her huſband; who being juſtly provoked at the barbarity of the action, brought their uſurpation ſpeedily to an end ſuited to the wickedneſs of its beginning.

The reign of Tullius had been ſo glorious for forty-five years, that it would have been hard even for a good prince, a reaſonable king, to have filled his place with equal dignity.—This too adds to the glory of his reign, that the juſt and legal exerciſe of the royal prerogative fell at the ſame time with him. Some authors are of opinion, that he had it in view to have reſigned his

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power, however mild and moderate the exercise of it had been, because it was absolute, had not the intrigues of his own family cut short his plan of fixing his country's liberty.

CHAP. XLIX.

Tarquin keeps an armed guard. A. U. C. 220.

THEN Tarquin began to show away in the regal function: his arrogance procured him the surname of *proud;* for, he refused to suffer the usual obsequies to be performed for his father-in-law, alledging for a reason, that "Romulus himself died without that honour." The principal of the senators, whom he suspected to have been in Servius's interest, he put to death; and being sensible, that the base means he had made use of to raise himself to the throne, might become a precedent that would recoil upon himself, he never appeared without a strong guard. For, indeed, he had no legal pretensions to the crown, but what were founded in violence and injustice, having neither obtained the consent of people, nor the sanction of the senate. Add to this, that as he had no hopes of gaining the affections of the people, he could only support himself on the throne from motives of fear, the influence of which, that he might make as universal as possible, in all criminal causes he sat judge in person, admitting neither the assistance nor advice of any assessor whatever. This furnished him not only with an opportunity of butchering and banishing such as he hated or suspected; but also of confiscating the effects of those, whom he could charge with no crime, provided he could enrich himself with their spoils.

Having by these means, in particular, very much reduced the order of the Fathers, he determined to make no new creation, that the order thus reduced, might dwindle into contempt, and consequently be the more indifferent that nothing was transacted by their means. He was the first king, who broke through a rule observed by all his predecessors, of consulting the senate upon every emergency. All state affairs he managed by

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domeſtic counſels. War, peace, treaties, alliances, he made with whomſoever he chooſed; and broke when he pleaſed, by himſelf alone, without the countenance or conſent of ſenate, or people.

He was at great pains to make himſelf popular among the Latins, that by means of their power, his ſafety at home might be leſs precarious. Nor did he only cultivate friendſhip with their nobility, but to make the connection ſtronger, by family alliances: For he married his daughter on Octavius Mamilius Tuſculanus, the moſt illuſtrious of the Latin name, being deſcended, if we can believe the ſtory, of Ulyſſes and Circe, by which means, he ſecured in his intereſt, the numerous friends and relations of that nobleman.

CHAP. L. *He appoints a general convention. Inveighed againſt by Turnus Herdonius.*

TARQUIN having now a conſiderable weight among the Latin chiefs, he appoints a day for a general convention at the grove of Ferentinum, pretending he had ſomething to propoſe for their common intereſt. Great numbers appeared by the morning's dawn. Tarquin was indeed punctual to the day, but not to the hour; for he did not make his appearance till a little before ſun-ſet. During the whole day, in the courſe of their debates, many obſervations were made in council. Turnus Herdonius of Aricia *, inveighed bitterly againſt Tarquin, in his abſence, exclaiming, "That it was no "wonder that he was ſirnamed the *proud* at Rome," (for he went commonly by that name, though it was only in corners, and in whiſpers,) "can any thing be "more impudent than to trifle thus with the whole "Latin name? To ſummon hither the Latin chiefs, "from ſo great a diſtance, and yet the ſcoundrel who "had appointed the meeting, not deign to appear him-"ſelf. Doubtleſs he means to put our patience to the "teſt, and to judge by our tameneſs, how far he can "ſubject and oppreſs us, when we have no means of "relief. Is there any of us ſo blind, as not to find out

* Now Marino.

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" that he pretends to an hereditary right over the La-
" tins? Suppoſing his own ſubjects had made a judi-
" cious ſurrender of their liberties to him, if that might
" be called a ſurrender, which had been extorted by
" parricide, the Latins being a diſtinct people, were
" under no obligation to follow the example. But if
" the Romans now repent of what they have done, be-
" ing butchered, exiled, and robed, one after another,
" by that rapacious wretch, can the Latins find in Tar-
" quin, a leſs cruel and covetous maſter? If they will
" take my advice, they will immediately return home,
" and mind the aſſembly day no more than he that ap-
" pointed it."

Whilſt this ſeditious and enterprizing man, who had by his addreſs amaſſed a great fortune at home, was proceeding in invectives againſt Tarquin, he made his appearance in the aſſembly, which put an end to the harangue. Every one turned about to pay his compliments to Tarquin, who, when ſilence was made, being put in mind by ſome that ſat next him, that he ought to make an apology for coming ſo late; he anſwered, " That he had been engaged making up a difference be-
" tween a father and a ſon; and that his concern to ſee
" them reconciled, had detained him ſo long." It is ſaid, Turnus did not ſuffer this excuſe to paſs uncenſur-ed; for he told him, " That no proceſs on earth could
" be ſhorter than between a father and a ſon, nor re-
" quired a briefer ſentence; if the ſon would not obey
" the father, he would be conſidered as a worthleſs
" wretch."

CHAP. LI. *Tarquin conſpires againſt Turnus.*

THE Arician, having thus cavalierly rated the Roman king, left the council; which ſinking deeper in the ſtomach of Tarquin, than he chooſed to expreſs, he immediately plots againſt the life of Turnus, with a view, in his fate, to impreſs the minds of the Latins, with the ſame ideas of terror, by which he had overawed the minds of his own ſubjects. And becauſe he had no authority to put him to death openly, he pro-

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cured his deſtruction, though innocent, by a fictitious impeachment.

By means of ſome Aricians, of an oppoſite party, he prevailed on Turnus's ſlave, for a ſum of money, to permit them to hide a great quantity of arms in his maſter's lodgings. Tarquin having completed all his ſcheme, in the courſe of one night, ſent for the Latin chiefs, a little before day, and as if he had been alarmed with ſome extraordinary diſcovery, told them, "That his abſence yeſterday, had been ordered by the "wiſe providence of the gods, both upon their account "and his own: That Turnus, he was told, had con-"certed meaſures to diſpatch him, and the principal of "the Latins, that he alone might have the ſupreme "power over the nation: That the attempt would "have been made yeſterday in the convention, had it "not been delayed, becauſe he who had called the "council, and whom he particularly pointed at, was "abſent: That for this very reaſon, he had ſpoke ſo "illiberally of him, in his abſence, becauſe his late "appearance had diſconcerted his meaſures. He had "no doubt, if his intelligence was good, but by day-"break, when the aſſembly meets, he will come in arms, "with a band of conſpirators: that he was alſo in-"formed, that a great number of ſwords had been ſe-"cretly conveyed to him, which, whether true or falſe, "could be diſcovered in a moment. Upon this, he "requeſted that they would go along with him to "Turnus."

The violence of Turnus's temper, his ſpeech the day before, and Tarquin's late appearance in the aſſembly, becauſe it ſeemed as if that circumſtance had delayed the intended maſſacre, all put together, made the thing look ſuſpicious: wherefore, although they accompanied Tarquin, diſpoſed to give credit to his report; yet they were of opinion, that ſhould the ſwords not be found with him, it would all go for nothing. When they came to his lodgings, they awaked Turnus, ſet a guard upon him, and ſeized his domeſtics; who, out of affection for their maſter, began to make oppoſition, when the arms that had been concealed, were brought from every corner of the apartment. The truth of the matter

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now ſeemed indiſputable, and Turnus was clapped in chains. Immediately a council of the Latins was called in a prodigious hurry, where the ſwords, produced in court, exaſperated them ſo much againſt him, that they would not hear him in his own defence; but condemned him to a new kind of death, to be thrown in at the head of the ſpring of Ferentinum, with a hurdle laid on him, covered with ſtones heaped on it, and there drowned.

CHAP. LII. *Tarquin's addreſs to the Aſſembly.*

TARQUIN having recalled the Latins to the aſſembly, and having commended them highly, for the juſt puniſhment they had inflicted upon Turnus, for the intended maſſacre proved againſt him, to pave the way for a revolution in the ſtate, addreſſed them in the following terms: "That he could plead an antient "right, ſeeing all the Latins came originally from Alba, "that they were included in that treaty, whereby the "whole Alban ſtate, with it's colonies, had ſubmitted "to the government of Rome, in the reign of Tullus. "But, he thought it would be more for the common "intereſt, if that treaty were renewed. And that the "Latins ſhould rather ſhare with the Romans in their "good fortune, than either be in perpetual terror of, "or ſubjected to the deſtruction of their towns, or de-"vaſtation of their lands, as had been the caſe, firſt in "the reign of Ancus, and then in that of his own "father."

The Latins were eaſily perſuaded, although they ſaw that the ballance of intereſt, lay upon the ſide of the Romans, when they found that the leading men of the nation, were diſpoſed to coincide with, and ſtand by the king's motion. Beſides, they were taught, in the example of Turnus, what they had to expect, ſhould any of them be ſo bold as oppoſe him.

Thus was the treaty renewed, and the Latin youth ordered by proclamation, in conſequence of this treaty, to aſſemble in arms, on a certain day, at the grove of Ferentinum. When thoſe of all the different tribes had rendezvouſed at the place appointed, agreeable to Tarquin's proclamation, that they might have no leader of

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their own, no ſeparate command, or enſigns of diſtinction, he blended the Romans and Latins together in every company, making one of two, and two of one. Having thus doubled the number of companies, he appointed Centurions to command them.

CHAP. LIII.

Defeats the Volſci; and, with the ſpoils, builds a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus.

BUT though Tarquin was a tyrannical prince, in time of peace; in war, as a general, he made no deſpicable figure. In that art, he would not have been thought inferior to his predeceſſors, had not his degeneracy in other reſpects eclipſed that brighter part of his character.

He was the firſt who carried the Roman arms againſt the Volſci, and began a war which ſubſiſted for two hundred years after him; from them he took Sueſſa Pometia by ſtorm. In the diviſion of the plunder when he reſerved forty talents of gold and ſilver to himſelf *, he conceived in idea, the dimenſions of a temple which ſhould be worthy the king of gods and men, adequate to the dignity of the Roman empire, and ſuited to the majeſty of the place, where it was to be erected. The money ſaved from the ſpoils of the Volſci, he ſet apart to defray the expence of building it.

After this, a war he had undertaken, did not keep pace with his hopes. It was againſt the Gabii †, a city in the neighbourhood; for the reduction of which, he had exerted his utmoſt, but in vain. Having been often repulſed with loſs, and ſeeing no probability of ſucceeding by a ſiege, at laſt he had recourſe to fraud and ſtratagem, arts never practiſed by the Romans, to accompliſh his purpoſe. For, pretending to have laid aſide all thoughts of war, his attention being wholly ingroſſed with laying the foundation of the temple, and other public works, his ſon Sextus, the youngeſt of three, as concerted between his father and him, made his

* £ 775. † Now Celenna.

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elopement to Gabii, where he exclaimed againſt his father's inhuman cruelty; declaring, "That he had now "ſhifted the ſcene, and turned away his inſupportable "pride from other objects, that the whole weight of it "might fall upon his own family: that the number of "his family affected him prodigiouſly; and, for that "reaſon, he intended to make his own houſe as thin as "he had done the ſenate-houſe, ſo that he might leave "no repreſentative, nor heir to his crown. For his "own part, that he had eſcaped his father's fury, "amidſt ſwords and daggers, and was fully convinced, "that he could be ſafe no where, but among the ene-"mies of Tarquin. For, that they might not be im-"poſed on, the war was by no means diſcontinued, as "it was pretended; but only with a view of attacking "them upon an occaſion, when they ſhould be lulled "in ſecurity. If there was no place among them to "ſerve as a refuge for the diſtreſſed, he would wander "all over Latium; and there, ſhould there be occaſion, "he ſhould make his ſuit to the Æqui, the Volſci, and "Hernici *, till he ſhould have the good fortune to "meet with ſome hoſpitable power, who knew how to "protect children from the cruel and unnatural tyranny "of parents. Perhaps too, among ſome of theſe peo-"ple, he might be able to raiſe up an enemy to this "overbearing monarch, and his mighty ſubjects."

When they ſaw that he ſeemed to be going, ſwelled with reſentment, if they ſhould make no advances to ſtop him, he met with a handſome reception from the Gabini. "They bid him not be ſurpriſed, that the "man who could act as he had done, to his ſubjects "and allies, if at laſt he treated his children in the "ſame inhuman manner. Nay, if every other object "ſhould fail, he would wreck his vengeance on himſelf. "To them, however, he was exceſſively welcome; and "they had no doubt, but in a ſhort time, by his "aſſiſtance, they would be able to carry the war from "Gabii, to the very walls of Rome."

* Part of Campagna di Roma.

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CHAP. LIV.

Sextus admitted into the Gabinian council. Gabii reduced.

UPON this he was admitted in to the council of ſtate, where, with reſpect to other matters, he ſaid he would yield to the old counſellors of the Gabini, as they had acceſs to know more about them; but with reſpect to the war, which he took every opportunity of adviſing, he pretended to be a better judge, being intimately acquainted with the reſources of both nations: and, moreover, ſuch was the intolerable pride of the Roman king, that it not only ſubjected him to the odium of the people, but to the averſion of his own family.

As he thus inſenſibly ſtirred up the Gabini to renew the war, he went in perſon, with the moſt alert of their youth upon pillaging parties; and, in all his words and actions, acted his part ſo much to the life, that his credit with the Gabini was quite eſtabliſhed. Inſomuch, that at laſt, he was choſen general, to proſecute the war. Upon this, ſome ſkirmiſhes happened, between the people of Gabii and Rome, in which, for the moſt part, the Gabini had the better, who never yet could diſcover the cheat; but, from the higheſt to the loweſt, were poſitive to a man, that Sextus Tarquinius had been ſent them by the gods to lead them on to victory. Among the ſoldiers too, the chearfulneſs with which he expoſed himſelf to the dangers and fatigues of war, and the generoſity he diſcovered in dividing the plunder, ſo endeared him to the ſoldiers, that Tarquin had no more to ſay at Rome, than he had at Gabii. Therefore, when he ſaw that he could be ſufficiently ſupported for any attempt, he diſpatches one of his confidents to Rome, to aſk his father, what were his further commands, for the gods had given him an unlimited power at Gabii.

To this meſſage, the king, I ſuppoſe, diffident of the fidelity of the bearer, returned him no anſwer in words, but as if he had meant to conſider of the matter, walked into the garden, whether his ſon's meſſenger followed

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him. As he walked in the garden for ſome time in ſilence, he ſtruck off, it is ſaid, the heads of the talleſt poppies with his cane. The meſſenger being out of all patience with begging and waiting for an anſwer, returned to Gabii, no wiſer, than when he left it. However, of what he ſaid himſelf, and what he had occaſion to obſerve, he makes a faithful relation; adding moreover, that Tarquin, whether from paſſion, reſentment, or pride, never once deigned to open his mouth.

The moment Sextus had unriddled theſe dark hints, he puts to death the moſt eminent men of the city, ſome by accuſing them to the people, others became proper objects of his revenge, by envying his greatneſs. Many of them were executed publicly; others, againſt whom the indictment could not be ſo clearly proven, were made away with privately. Some were permitted to make their eſcape, and ſome were baniſhed; but in whatever manner they were diſpoſed of, whether dead or alive, if they were out of the way, their eſtates were confiſcated and divided among the people. The ſweets of plunder, and the private emolument ariſing from theſe largeſſes, extinguiſhed, in the people, all ſenſe of feeling for the public calamities, till deſtitute of counſel, and void of all reſources, the ſtate of Gabii, became an eaſy prey to Tarquin, without ſtriking a ſtroke.

CHAP. LV.

Tarquin turns his attention to the affairs of the city.

TARQUIN having thus got poſſeſſion of Gabii, made a peace with the Æqui, and renewed the treaty with the Etrurians. He then turned his attention to the affairs of the city, particularly, to the building a temple to Jupiter, on the Tarpeian mount, which he might leave as a monument of his name and reign, ſince of the two Tarquins who had reigned at Rome, the firſt had vowed this temple, and the laſt had finiſhed it. And that the area of this temple, might be clear of the worſhip of other gods, and totally appropriated to Jupiter, he reſolved to deprive ſeveral ſmall temples and chapels of their conſecrated honours, which had been

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vowed by Tatius in the heat of the battle he had fought with Romulus, and afterwards hallowed and dedicated.

In the very beginning of this work, it is affirmed, that the gods exerted their power to presage the future greatness of this empire. For, though the birds declared, that all the other temples might be deprived of their sacred honours, they could not be brought to approve of the measure, with respect to Terminus. This omen and augury was thus explained, That as Terminus would not move, and being the only one of all the gods, that had not been moved from their respective stations, they had in that circumstance, a sure sign of the permanency and stability of their empire.

This omen being understood to have a respect to the permanency, there followed another which portended its greatness: For, as the story goes, whilst the masons were opening the ground for the foundation of the temple, a human head appeared to them, with the face entire. This phænomenon, without straining the interpretation, plainly presaged, that this temple should be the head of the empire, and the empire universal. This too was the opinion of the soothsayers, not only of Rome, but of those also who had been sent for from Etruria, to be consulted on it. Presages so flattering, could not miss to enlarge the king's mind with respect to the expence; insomuch that the spoils of Pometia, originally intended to defray the expence of the whole superstructure, were scarcely sufficient for laying the foundation. —For this reason, I am the more inclinable to believe Fabius; besides, that he is the more antient author, who restricts the plunder of this city to forty talents, than Piso, who affirms that 40,000 pound weight of gold and silver, had been sequestrated for that purpose; a sum scarcely to be expected from the spoils of any one city in the world, at that time, and more than sufficient for laying the foundation of any, the most magnificent fabric of modern times.

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CHAP. LVI. *Sends a colony to Signia and Ceredum. Sends Brutus to Delphos.*

TARQUIN being intent upon building the temple, hired architects and ſkillful workmen from Etruria; and though he made uſe of the public money to defray the expence, in the laborious part, he made the people the drudges. Though this was a conſiderable addition to their military ſervitude, yet the conſideration, that they were building a temple to the gods with their own hands, induced them to aſſiſt in carrying it on with more chearfulneſs than uſual. This ſervitude was afterwards extended to works leſs honourable, but ſtill more laborious, as the conſtruction of galleries in the circus, and of a large drain under ground, for receiving and carrying off the refuſe of the city; works ſo very conſiderable, that even the magnificence of the preſent age can ſcarce pretend to equal them.

Whilſt the people were engaged in the execution of theſe deſigns, becauſe he thought numbers, for whom he could not find employment, were a burden to the city, that the frontiers of his dominions might be better inhabited, he ſent colonies to Circeii * and Signia †, which proved a defence to the city, in ſucceeding ages, both by ſea and land.

Whilſt he was engaged in theſe matters, a terrible prodigy appeared. A ſerpent, jumping out of a wooden pillar, ſpread ſuch terror, among all who ſaw it, that they ran directly to the palace. The king was not ſo much concerned for fear of danger, as he was ſolicitous about what might follow. Therefore, though upon other occaſions, the Etrurian diviners were thought ſufficient; yet this phænomenon having impreſſed him with unuſual anxiety for his domeſtic concerns, he reſolved to ſend to the oracle at Delphi ‡, the moſt famous at that time in the world.

And not daring to truſt the oracle's anſwer to any other, he diſpatched two of his ſons into Greece, [*A. R.* 243.] through tracts of land, at that time, very little,

* Monte Circello. † A city in Latium.
‡ A city in Greece, now Delfo, Sabona, and Caſtri.

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and seas still less known. Titus and Aruns set out. Lucius Junius Brutus, Tarquin's nephew, by a sister Tarquinia, a young man of a very different turn of mind from what he chooſed it ſhould appear to be, was of their retinue.

This young nobleman, when he underſtood that the principal of the Roman nobility, and among the reſt his own brother, had been butchered by his uncle, he reſolved that nothing ſhould appear in his ſpirit to alarm the fears, and nothing in his fortune, to tempt the rapacity of the king; imagining he would be ſafer under the cloak of contempt, than in the protection of the laws. Wherefore, deſignedly aſſuming the air and habits of a fool, he ſuffered himſelf and all his fortune to fall into the hands of the king, and very chearfully took the ſirname of Brutus; that his extraordinary abilities, concealed under this title of reproach, might wait for the proper ſeaſon to appear with redoubled luſtre, in aſſerting the liberty of Rome.

When at that time he accompanied the Tarquins to Delphi, rather as their buffoon, than companion, it is reported of him, that he carried with him a rod of gold, encloſed in a caſe of elder, which gave it the appearance of a common ſtick, as a preſent to Apollo.—This was a true emblem of his own mind and external appearance.

When they had finiſhed their journey, and executed their father's commands, they were prompted by their curioſity to enquire of the oracle, which of them ſhould ſucceed him in the kingdom. Upon which, it is ſaid, a voice from the bottom of the cave made the following reſponſe. "Whoever of you, gentlemen, ſhall firſt "have the good fortune to give a kiſs to his mother, "ſhall be ruler at Rome." The Tarquins, as Sextus their brother had been left at Rome, and conſequently ignorant of the oracle's anſwer, that he might have no ſhare in the government, order that all ſhould be kept ſecret, and determined by lot, which of them two, upon their return to Rome, ſhould firſt kiſs his mother Tullia. But Brutus concluding that the oracle's meaning was very different, pretended to fall down by chance, and kiſſed the earth, the common mother of all living. After this they all returned to Rome, where they found

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the city in a commotion, on account of the preparations for a war againſt the Rutuli.

CHAP. LVII.

A diſpute about the excellency of Wives.

THE Rutuli were conſidered as a very wealthy nation, in that age and country, and were in poſſeſſion of Ardea. It was their riches alone that gave riſe to the war: For Tarquin, having drained his treaſury to defray the expence of his public works, was ſpeculating for a new ſupply for himſelf *; and that he might, by a large booty, ſooth the minds of the populace, who, beſides their diſlike of him for other acts of tyranny, were enraged at the oppreſſive manner in which they had been obliged to ſerve the mechanics, and do other ſervile work. He made an attempt to take Ardea by ſtorm; but having failed in the attempt, he tried to diſtreſs the beſieged, by blockading their city, and raiſing works againſt it.

When an army is encamped, and the war rather tedious than violent, it generally happens that they come and go without reſtraint; though that indulgence only extends to the officers. The young princes ſometimes ſpent their leiſure hours in viſiting and entertaining one another.

One day, while they were enjoying themſelves over a bottle with Sextus Tarquinius, where Collatinus Tarquinius, the ſon of Egerius, alſo ſupped, the converſation happened to turn on the merit of wives. Every one was loud in the praiſes of his own; and the diſpute turning hot, "What occaſion is there for words, ſaid Collatinus, ſince you can be ſatisfied, in a few hours, how "much my Lucretia is ſuperior to the reſt. If then we "have yet the vigour of youth, let us mount our horſes, "and examine the conduct of our wives on the ſpot; "each of us, will be able to judge with the greater preciſion, of the employment of the ladies, ſurprized with "a viſit from their huſbands, of which they had not "the moſt diſtant expectation."

* A. U. C. 243.

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They were all heated with wine: "Come, let us go," said each of them. They galloped all the way to Rome, where they arrived about the dusk in the evening, and from thence to Collatia. There they found Lucretia, not employed like the king's daughters-in-law, in company with other ladies of distinction, enjoying themselves in feasting and diversions; but even at a late hour, amidst her maids, manufacturing wool by candle light.

The contest was determined in favour of Lucretia. She had received her husband and the Tarquins with much affability. Her husband, not a little vain of his conquest, invited his royal guests to a friendly repast. There Sextus Tarquinius was so captivated with the charms and behaviour of Lucretia, and so inflamed with passion, that he was resolved to enjoy her by force.—However, having thus got over their youthful frolic, which had taken up a great part of the night, they return into the camp.

CHAP. LVIII.

Lucretia ravished: stabs herself.

A FEW days after, Sextus Tarquinius, without acquainting Collatinus, set out for Collatia, with only one servant. As nobody could divine the motives of this visit, he was entertained with great civility and respect; and, after supper, conducted to his apartment. Inflamed with the ardour of his passion, observing every thing was quiet, and the whole family asleep, he stole into Lucretia's chamber; and coming with his sword drawn to her bed-side, he laid his left hand on her breast, and awakened her.

"Be hush, Lucretia," says he, "I am Sextus Tar-"quinius, my sword is drawn, the moment you speak "a word, that moment shall be your last." Lucretia, as she wakened in a fright, seeing death impending, no relief near her, was obliged to listen to a declaration of his passion: he begged and entreated her to yield to his desires; then he mingled threats with his prayers, and left no art unpractised to shake her resolution. When he found that she was positive, and that

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even the fear of death could not prevail upon her to conſent, he threatened her alſo with infamy; he told her, that he would kill one of her ſlaves, lay him naked by her when ſhe was dead, and then declare to all the world, that he had killed her catched in adultery with the ſlave. The dread of infamy, was as powerful in overcoming her obſtinate virtue, as the moſt irritating inclination. Tarquin had his wiſhes; and ſet out in triumph, for having robbed a lady of her virtue.

Lucretia ſunk under the preſſure of her misfortune, diſpatches a meſſenger to her father at Rome, with orders to go immediately from thence, to her huſband in the camp at Ardea, deſiring them to meet her, and with each, a faithful friend;—that no time muſt be loſt, becauſe ſomething very extraordinary had happened. Spurius Lucretius came, accompanied with Publius Valerius, the ſon of Voleſus; and Collatinus, with Lucius Junius Brutus, with whom he was returning to Rome, when he met his wife's meſſenger. He found Lucretia ſitting quite diſconſolate in her bed-chamber. The moment they entered the room, ſhe burſt into tears. When her huſband put the queſtion, "Are you well enough?" "Not at all," ſaid ſhe; "the woman who has loſt her "honour, can, in no ſenſe of the word, be well. A- "nother, my Collatinus, hath defiled your bed. But "though my body is polluted, my ſoul is without ſtain. "Of this my death ſhall ſeal the truth. But give me "your right hands, and your promiſe, that the adul- "terer ſhall not go unpuniſhed. It is Sextus Tarqui- "nius, who came hither laſt night with the air of a "friend, but with the heart of fiend; and, in arms, ob- "tained by force, a pleaſure, fatal to me,—and to him, "—if you are only men."

All of them give their promiſe, in order as they ſtood; and endeavoured to divert her melancholy, by excuſing her who was forced, and loading him with the blame, who was the author of the guilt; arguing, that there could be no crime, where there was no intention: for, it is the ſoul that ſins, the body cannot. "I leave it to "my friends," ſaid ſhe, "to conſider what is due to "him; for my own part, though I can juſtly acquit

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" myſelf from the guilt, I will not exempt myſelf from " the puniſhment; nor ſhall any woman hereafter ſurvive " her honour, and plead Lucretia for a precedent."—. Upon this, ſhe drew a knife, which ſhe had concealed below her gown, and plunged it into her breaſt. The huſband and father cry out, as ſhe dropt expiring at their feet.

CHAP. LIX. *The Tarquins baniſhed.*

BRUTUS, whilſt the reſt were abſorbed in grief, draws the knife out of Lucretia's wound, and holding it out all bloody before him; " Yes," ſaid he, " I ſwear by this blood, once ſo pure, that nothing but " royal villany could have polluted; and I call the gods " to witneſs this my oath, that I will purſue Lucius " Tarquin, the proud, his wicked wife, and all their " race, with fire and ſword, and every other act of vio- " lence, in my power; nor will I ever ſuffer any of that, " or any other family whatſoever, to be king in Rome." This ſaid, he preſented the knife to Callatinus, then to Lucretius and Valerius, who were not a little aſtoniſhed at the ſurpriſing revolution in the intellects of Brutus. However, at his deſire, they all took the oath; and their grief being now converted into rage, they all followed Brutus as their leader, from that moment, inceſſantly employing his intereſt to overturn the regal power.

The body of Lucretia was brought from Collatia, and laid in the Forum. As it is uſual, in ſuch caſes, great multitudes aſſembled, drawn together by their wonder at ſo extraordinary a ſpectacle, or their indignation at the author. Every one, from his own experience, had ſome crime or act of violence, to lay to the charge of the Tarquins. They were moved by the father's tears; but Brutus inſiſted that they ſhould dry up their tears, and drop their unavailing complaints, and ſhow themſelves men and Romans, in taking up arms againſt thoſe who dared to act a villainous part againſt them.

The moſt reſolute of the youth appear in arms volunteers in the ſervice, and the reſt ſoon follow their ex-

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ample. Then having left a sufficient guard at the gates of Collatia, and placing sentries, that the Tarquins might get no notice of this insurrection, the rest, headed by Brutus, marched in arms to Rome. After they had entered the city, the appearance of a body in arms, spread terror and confusion, wherever it went; but when the principal men of the state were observed to be at the head of it, they readily concluded, whatever it might be, it had been no rash nor unadvised undertaking. Nor did this barbarous action occasion less commotion at Rome, than it had done at Collatia. From all quarters they ran into the Forum; and the moment they were convened, they were summoned by the public crier, to attend the tribune of the celeres, with which office, Brutus happened to be invested at that time. Then he harrangued the people, but with a force and energy very different from that degree of wisdom and capacity, of which the character he assumed had been expressive, to that day. Then he inveighed against the violence and brutal passion of Sextus Tarquinius, the rape of Lucretia, so infamous, that he blushed to mention it;—her unfortunate end.—The loss to Tricipitinus of his daughter, the cause of whose death, was more afflicting and distressing than her death itself.—To these, he added the king's haughtiness;—the miseries and servile labours of the people, oppressed with ditching and drawing common sewers: and that the Romans, conquerors of all the nations around them, of soldiers, were now become common mechanics and hewers of stone. He mentioned the inhuman murder of their king, Servius Tullius, and his accursed daughter riding in triumph over the body of her expiring father: he invocked the gods, the avengers of parents.

By a lively representation of these horrid scenes, and others, I fancy, still more glaring, dictated by the calamity of the times, which a modern historian cannot easily collect, or narrate, he had the address to engage the people, already enraged at the Tarquins, to abolish the regal authority, and by their suffrages to confirm a decree of the senate, condemning Tarquin, his wife, and all his posterity, to perpetual banishment. Having levied, and armed a body of youth, who voluntarily

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listed themselves, he put himself at their head, and marched to the camp of Ardea, to persuade the army to join in the rebellion against the king. He left the government of the city to Lucretius, who had before been appointed to the office of præfect, by the king.

During this uproar, Tullia made the best of her way out of the city; both sexes, wherever she went, pursuing her with curses, and calling on the furies of her parents to overtake her.

CHAP. LX.

Brutus and Collatinus created consuls.

THE news of these transactions having reached the camp, the king, alarmed with this sudden revolution, goes to Rome to quell the commotions. Brutus being advised of his motions, turned out of the way, that he might not meet him. Brutus reached Ardea, much about the time that Tarquin had got to Rome. Tarquin found the gates shut, and an act of banishment passed against him: But Brutus was joyfully received in the camp, as the deliverer of Rome, and the young Tarquins expelled. Two of them followed their father, who retired to Cære †, a city of Etruria. Sextus Tarquinius, having gone to Gabii, where he considered himself as king, fell by the hands of those who owed him a spite for the old feuds, which, by his murders and rapines, he had raised against himself.

Lucius Tarquinius Superbus, reigned twenty-five years; and the regal government prevailed at Rome, from the building of the city, to this period of it's deliverance, two hundred and forty-four years. Immediately after the expulsion of the Tarquins, two consuls, Lucius Junius Brutus, and Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus, were elected, at the Comitia by centuries, according to the regulations of Servius Tullius.

† A. U. C. 244.

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TITUS LIVIUS's Roman Hiſtory.

BOOK II.

Containing the Eſtabliſhment of the Conſular Government, and of the Tribunitian Power; their Conteſts at home, and Wars abroad, till the Year of ROME, 286.

CHAP. I.

Brutus binds the People by oath, never to ſuffer a King at Rome.

IN the ſubſequent part of this work, I am to write the hiſtory of the Romans, conſidered as a free people, and to give an account of their annual magiſtrates, and their government, under the juriſdiction of the laws, ſuperior to that of men. The inſolent behaviour of the late king, gave them now a greater reliſh for the ſweets of liberty: for with ſo much moderation had their former princes ruled, that they may be juſtly ſtiled, the founders of thoſe parts of the city, which each of them ſucceſſively had added, for the accommodation of the people, whoſe numbers were increaſed by their care.

But, it is an abſolute certainty, that had this very Brutus, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo gloriouſly in the expulſion of the Tarquins, through an unſeaſonable zeal for liberty, wreſted the ſovereign power from any of their former princes, he would have done an irreparable

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injury to the public intereſt. For, what would have been the conſequence, had that commonalty, conſiſting of herdſmen and ſtrangers, out-laws from their countries, who under the protection of an inviolable aſylum, found liberty, or at leaſt, impunity, been ſet free from the dread of majeſty, and begun to be agitated by the ſtorms of tribunitian fury? What would have been the conſequence, had they then begun to engage in quarrels with the nobles, in a ſtrange city, before the pledges of wives and children, and an attachment to the ſoil, which comes not in an inſtant, had aſſociated their hearts? Diſtractions of this nature in a ſtate, not brought to maturity, would certainly have ruined it: whereas a peaceable and gentle government, foſtered and cheriſhed it, and by a proper nouriſhment, brought it to ſuch ſtrength and perfection, as already to produce the wholeſome fruits of liberty.

But it is to be obſerved, that the ſource of liberty is found rather in the duration of the conſular government *, which was only for a year, than in the diminution of the power, which had been inveſted in the crown. The firſt conſuls had all the privileges and enſigns of authority, which belonged to the kings; only it was provided, that both conſuls ſhould not be attended with the faſces at the ſame time, ſo as they might not appear to be armed with double terror.

Brutus, who was not more active in recovering liberty, than he was ſteady in maintaining it, was the firſt, with permiſſion of his colleague, who was attended by the faſces. Of all the people, who at firſt were mighty fond of their new acquired liberty, he exacted an oath, that they never would ſuffer another to ſway the ſceptre in Rome, that they might not, upon any after occaſion, either affected with the prayers, or corrupted by the largeſſes of Tarquin, be prevailed on to recede. Then to add to the influence of the ſenate, by increaſing the

* According to Pomponius, *ex conſulere*, to watch for the public good; but according to Varro and Cicero, *ex conſulere*, to aſk counſel: becauſe, according to the original inſtitution of conſuls, they were to do nothing without the concurrence of the ſenate and people. Hence Tully calls the office, *regium imperium*, *regia poteſtas*.

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number of that order, which had suffered greatly from the king's butcheries, he draughted the principal of the Equestrian order, to make the number of the fathers three hundred. Hence, it is said, arose the distinction of fathers and conscript fathers; when they were called to the senate, they who were added to the list to make up the new senate, being called *conscript*. It is impossible to conceive, how much this measure contributed to the unanimity and mutual friendship of senate and people.

CHAP. II.

Constrains Tarquinius Collatinus, on suspicion of an attachment to the Tarquins, to resign the consulship, and leave Rome.

IMMEDIATELY after these regulations, they turned their attention to matters of religion, and as some part of public worship had belonged to the regal function, that the want of kings might not be felt in this respect, they created a magistrate for the purpose, and gave him the title of *king of sacred things*. This office they made subordinate to the pontificate, that the specious title might no way obstruct their liberty, which had now become their principal concern: and I am not certain, but their zeal in securing it, even in matters of very little moment, carried them too far. For the very name of the other consul, to whose conduct they could have no objection besides, became odious to the state. They reflected, "That habit had made it constitutional "in the Tarquins to affect sovereign power. That this "had originated in Priscus, whom Servius Tullius had "indeed succeeded, but what then? During his whole "reign, was not Tarquin the proud, claiming an ex-"clusive right, though he saw another in possession, "and at last, by proceedings the most villainous and "violent, did he not seize on the supreme power, as the "hereditary domain of his family? Tarquin the proud "is banished, it is true; but is not the supreme authority "vested in Tarquin of Collatia? The Tarquins cannot "exist in a private station,—it is morally impossible;—

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"there is a harshness in the very name,—it will never "chime with liberty."

Reflexions of this kind being at first artfully whispered, and by degrees published all over the city, to sound the inclinations of the people, Brutus summoned them to a council, whilst they were anxious under these impressions of jealousy; when first of all, he repeats to them the oath, which they had taken, "That they would suffer no "kings at Rome, nor any thing else that would endan- "ger their liberty. That this was a maxim, of which "they were never to lose sight, nor were they to over- "look whatever in the least regarded it. That he ad- "dressed them in these terms, much against his inclina- "tion, out of respect to a single gentleman, nor would "he touch on the subject, did not the love of his country "constrain him. That it was impossible to convince "the Roman people, that they were yet in full possession "of their liberty; for as yet, not only some of the royal "family, but even some who bore the name of Tarquin, "still resided in the city, and were even invested with "the supreme power. It is this which obstructs;—it is "this which stands in the way of their liberty."

Then turning to Collatinus, "This fear, O. L. Tar- "quin, do you voluntarily remove. We have not yet "forgot, nay, we openly acknowledge, that you expelled "the kings. Complete what you have so generously "begun. Take hence the regal name. Your fellow- "citizens, I promise you, will not only give you up all "you can call your own, but if you want any thing "besides, will generously supply you. Leave us in "friendship. Free this city from a fear that perhaps is "groundless. But the people are fully persuaded, that "tyranny will never be totally extirpated, whilst any "of the Tarquin family remains in the city."

The consul was at first so confounded at this sudden and unexpected motion, that he could not open his mouth. When he was beginning to speak in his own defence, he was surrounded by those of the first distinc- tion in the city, and with the most pressing intreaties importuned to depart. Their influence, however, would have gone no great length, had not Spurius Lucretius, a man highly respected for his merit, and venerable for

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his years, and who alſo was his father-in-law, uſed various methods of perſuaſion with him, ſometimes intreating, and ſometimes adviſing him to ſuffer himſelf to be prevailed upon, by the united wiſhes of his country. He then began to conſider, that after he ſhould be returned to the condition of a private citizen, he might be obliged to leave the city, his eſtate might be confiſcated, and beſides, he might receive ſome other mark of diſgrace; wherefore, he reſigned the conſulſhip, and having conveyed all his effects to Lavinium, he retired from Rome.

Brutus, by a decree of the ſenate, moved to the people, that all the family of the Tarquins ſhould be baniſhed: and in an aſſembly by centuries, he got Publius Valerius, who had aſſiſted him in expelling the Tarquins, to be choſen his colleague.

CHAP. III.

Deputies from the Tarquins arrive at Rome.

ALTHOUGH nobody doubted, that the Tarquins would have recourſe to arms, yet that happened not ſo ſoon as was generally expected: the Romans were on the point, however, of loſing their liberty by deceitful and treaſonable practices, of which they had never entertained a ſuſpicion.

Among the Roman youth, there were ſome of illuſtrious families, who, during the late reign, had purſued their pleaſures without reſtraint; and being much about the ſame age, and much in company with the young Tarquins, were accuſtomed to take all the liberties common to princes. Wiſhing ſtill to live in the ſame licentious ſtile, although now every citizen was upon the ſame footing, they complained to one another, that whatever liberty other men enjoyed, they ſaw nothing for themſelves but ſlavery. "A king, *continued they*, is a man; "—from whom you may obtain juſtice; and in caſe of "need, you may have indulgence too. Here there "is a plea for intereſt and favour. A king can "both ſhow his reſentment and his clemency, and diſ-

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" tinguiſh a friend from a foe. But the laws always " deaf and inexorable, are better calculated for the " poor than the rich: only once tranſgreſs them, and " you will find, that neither indulgence nor pardon is " competent. Conſidering the frailty of human nature, " to depend on innocence alone, will be found but a " precarious ſituation."

While their minds were thus naturally chagrined, deputies from the Tarquins arrived unexpectedly at Rome, who, without mentioning a ſyllable of their return, only required, that their effects ſhould be given up. After they had been admitted to an audience in the ſenate, it was debated for ſeveral days, whether their demands ſhould be granted, as a refuſal might be a pretence to the Tarquins for beginning hoſtilities, and a compliance afford them the means for carrying on a war.

In the mean time however, they were otherwiſe employed; for, while they openly demanded their effects, they were plotting in private for recovering the kingdom; and under pretence of courting the young Patricians for their intereſt, to ſupport their claim in the ſenate, they were ſounding their inclinations. To thoſe, whom they ſaw diſpoſed to liſten to their propoſals, they delivered letters from the Tarquins; and concerted meaſures for taking the royal family into the city, in the night-time.

CHAP. IV.

The plot diſcovered by means of a ſlave, and the conſpirators clapt in irons.

THE conſpiracy was firſt communicated to the Aquillii and Vitellii, of whom there were ſeveral brothers. Brutus had married a ſiſter of the Vitellii, and by her had two ſons, called Titus and Tiberius, whom their uncles engaged to be their aſſociates in their deſign. There were other young Patricians concerned in the plot; but their names, in ſo long an interval, have been totally loſt. When it was carried by a majority of the ſenate, that the effects belonging to the royal family ſhould be reſtored, the ambaſſadors made it a

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pretence for protracting their ſtay at Rome, as the conſuls had allowed them time to provide carriages for their tranſportation. This time they employed in conferences with the conſpirators, upon whom they prevailed by their urgent ſolicitations to write to the Tarquins. For how elſe, ſaid they, is it poſſible to convince them, that what we have to advance about a buſineſs of the higheſt conſequence, is not altogether a mere fiction?

Theſe letters which were given as a pledge of their fidelity, diſcovered the whole plot. For the day before the ambaſſadors were to take their departure, they happened to ſup with the Vitellii, where the conſpirators, as is uſual in ſuch caſes, converſed long together in private about their new concerted plot. One of their ſlaves, who before had found out what they were about, overheard their converſation: but he waited for that opportunity, when the letters ſhould be delivered, which, when ſeized, would make a full diſcovery of the whole affair. The moment he obſerved that the letters were deſivered, he adviſed the conſuls, who went directly to ſeize the ambaſſadors and conſpirators together. The whole affair was cruſhed without any noiſe. They took care, in the firſt place, to ſecure the letters, leſt they ſhould be put out of the way. The traitors were immediately clapt in irons; but with reſpect to the ambaſſadors, they were for ſome time at a loſs. Their crime, indeed, merited the treatment due to enemies, but a regard to the law of nations prevailed.

CHAP. V.

The conſpirators condemned and executed; and the effects of the Tarquins given up to be plundered by the people.

THE reſtitution of the tyrant's effects, which the ſenate had formerly voted, came once more upon the carpet. The fathers, exaſperated as they were, would neither ſuffer them to be reſtored, nor confiſcated. They were, therefore, given up to be rifled by the people, who, after they had ſhared in the plunder, might, upon no future occaſion, have any hopes of a reconciliation with the Tarquins.

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A field, between the city and the Tiber, their property, was consecrated to Mars; and ever since hath been called, the *Campus Martius*. It happened, that it was under corn ripe for cutting down; but as they deemed it unlawful to use it, after it was reaped, the people flocked in numbers to carry it away with the straw in baskets, and then threw it into the Tiber, the waters of which being low, as it is usual in the heat of summer, the heaps of corn sticking in the shallows, were covered with mud: by these, and other materials carried thither by the stream, an island rose by degrees, which by the addition of banks, as I imagine, and the assistance of art, was so raised and consolidated, that temples and porticoes were built upon it.

After the tyrants effects were plundered, the traitors were condemned and executed. What rendered their punishment particularly remarkable was, that Brutus's office, as consul, laid him under the necessity of punishing his own children: and the man who ought to have been removed from beholding such a melancholy spectacle, fortune obliged to stand by and see the punishment inflicted. Young men of the first quality stood tied to a stake; but from all the criminals, as from persons unknown, the consul's sons drew the eyes of the spectators, pitying them not more on account of the severity of their punishment, than the horrid crime for which they suffered; in the very year of their deliverance from slavery, that they should have conspired to betray into the hands of Tarquin, who had been a haughty tyrant at Rome, and now an hostile exile, their country after it was freed from his despotic sway, their father too, it's deliverer, the consulate which originated in the family of the Junii; the fathers, the people, and whatever belonged to the gods, or the citizens of Rome. The consuls seated themselves in their tribunal; and the lictors being dispatched to inflict the punishment, stript them naked, whipt them with rods, and struck off their heads. All the time, the eyes of the spectators were fixed upon Brutus, to observe his deportment as a father and a patriot:—in love for his country, he stood distinguished during all the tragical scene.

After the execution, to set an example of rewarding,

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as well as punishing, the slave who made the discovery, got a sum of money out of the treasury, his liberty, and the freedom of the city. He was the first, according to tradition, that was made free by the Rod Vindicta, which some think, was so called from the circumstance of his name, which was Vindicius. Hence it has been a rule, that freedom obtained in this manner, has entitled the receiver to all the privileges of a Roman citizen.

CHAP. VI.

The Tarquins muster an army, are defeated; but Brutus is killed.

TARQUIN having been informed of these things, grief, rage, and hatred, all at once seized him, upon the disappointment of his only hopes: and since now he had no hopes in succeeding by stratagem, and that there was no alternative but open war, he made the circuit of Etruria, humbly beseeching, particularly the Vejentes and Tarquinienses; "That they "would not suffer to perish before their eyes, himself, "and the princes his sons, of the same blood with "themselves, who though now an abject exile, was "but lately possessed of a considerable kingdom. That "others had been sent for from foreign parts, and in-"vested kings of Rome, but that he, their lawful sove-"reign, whilst enlarging the empire by his arms abroad, "was dethroned by a conspiracy of his nearest relations; "that they, since no single one among them was judged "equal to the honour of ruling alone, had split the "regal office into parts, and shared them among them, "that they had given up all his effects to be plundered "by the people, that all among them might be some-"how concerned in their guilt. What he ardently "wished for now, was to recover his kingdom and his "country, to take vengeance on his ungrateful subjects; "that they were peculiarly interested in supporting his "pretensions, because in his quarrel, they would re-"venge the injuries done them before, when their ar-

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" mies had been so often slaughtered, and their lands " wrested from them."

These arguments were specious, and weighed with the Vejentes, who felt themselves heroes in an instant, boasting with prodigious bluster, that now, with a Roman general at their head, they would wipe off every former disgrace, and recover all they had lost in war. The name and relation to the Tarquinienses, were irresistible motives. Besides, they piqued themselves upon the honour of giving a king to Rome. Thus the armies of these two states put themselves under the command of Tarquin, to reinstate him on the throne, and take vengeance on the Romans.

When they entered the Roman territories, the consuls went out to meet them. Valerius led on the foot in square battalia, and Brutus marched before with the horse to reconnoitre the enemy. The Tarquins marched in the same order; Aruns, Tarquin's son, advancing with the horse, and Tarquin himself following with the legions. Aruns, by the lictors, knew it was one of the consuls who was advancing against him, when at a distance; but upon a nearer approach, he discovered by his face, that it was certainly Brutus. Then boiling with indignation, " There," says he, " is the man, " who hath banished and expelled us our country; see " him, how he rides in state, proud in the ensigns of " our dignity. Ye Gods, avengers of injured kings, " assist me now."—With this, he put spurs to his horse, and drove against the consul with all his force. Brutus saw his aim; and as in those days it was reckoned a piece of gallantry in the generals to open the battle, by engaging in single combat, at the head of their armies, he met him with equal ardour. They rushed against each other with inveterate fury, insomuch, that neither caring how much his own person was exposed, could he only wound his adversary, they both tumbled from their horses at the same instant lifeless, to the ground, pined together by their lances, which being pushed in opposite directions, had transfixed them through their shields.

At the same time, the battle with the horse became general, nor was it long before the foot came up; often was the victory lost and won, and in the end very doubt-

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ful. The right of both armies carried all before them, while the left of both was defeated. The Vejentes, accuſtomed to be beat by the Romans, were routed and put to flight. The Tarquinienſes, a new enemy, not only ſtood their ground, but where they fought, obliged the Romans to give way.

CHAP. VII.

The Ladies mourn for Brutus a whole year.

AFTER this deſperate engagement, Tarquin and his Etrurians were ſeized with ſuch a panic, that giving over his deſign as impracticable, the two armies of the Vejentes and Tarquinienſes, made the beſt of their way, in the night-time, to their reſpective homes.

Of this battle alſo ſtrange ſtories are reported; that a loud voice, which they imagined to be Sylvanus's, was heard from the forreſt of Arſia, in the dead of night, pronouncing theſe words, "The Etrurians have loſt "one man in the battle more than the Romans: the "Romans are maſters of the field." One thing, however, is certain, that the Romans left the field as conquerors, and the Etrurians with all the marks of a defeat. For, after the light appeared, and not a man of the enemy to be ſeen, Publius Valerius, the conſul, gathered up the ſpoils, and returned in triumph to Rome. He buried his colleague, with all the pomp, at that time, poſſible. But a much greater compliment was paid to his memory, in the public mourning of the city, particularly remarkable from this conſideration, that the ladies mourned for him a complete year, as for a parent, to ſhow their reſpect for the bold avenger of their ſex's honour.

Though the ſurviving conſul had been very popular, yet ſo fickle are the minds of the multitude, that he not only fell under their jealouſy and reſentment, but was even charged with the moſt odious crimes. Reports were ſpread, that he aſpired at ſovereignty, becauſe he had not choſen a colleague in the room of Brutus, and was building a houſe on the upper Velia, where, from

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its height and situation, it would be an impregnable fortress.

As these things were become common topics of conversation, and gaining credit, they gave the consul no little pain; wherefore having called a council of the people, he came down to the assembly, with his fasces lowered. Nothing could have pleased the people more, than to see the ensigns of authority lowered to them; as it was a plain acknowledgement, that the majesty and power of the people, was paramount to that of the consul. When they were called to silence, the consul "highly extolled the good fortune of his colleague, who "after the delivery of his country, had fallen in the "greatest honour, fighting for its liberty, when his "glory was at its height, and before it was sullied by "the foul touches of envy: whilst himself had survived "the glory he had acquired, to become the butt of "envy and criminal impeachments, and from being "esteemed the deliverer of his country, had his cha-"racter now levelled with that of the Vitellii and "Aquillii. Shall there never be a time," says he, "that virtue will be so fully approved by you, as to be "proof against jealousy? Is it possible, that I, who "have shown myself an implacable enemy to kings, "should have reason to fear, that ever a charge of "aspiring to regal power, would be laid against myself? "Were I to live in the capitol, nay, in the citadel itself, "could I ever imagine, that I should become formidable "to my fellow citizens? Does my character among "you, depend on circumstances so trifling? Is your "confidence in me so slightly founded, that you should "rather be concerned about the situation of my house, "than the conduct of my life? But, gentlemen, the "house of Publius Valerius, shall never obstruct your "liberty. No longer be afraid of Velia. I will not "only bring down my house into the plain, but even "build it at the foot of the hill, that you may dwell "above me, a suspected citizen. Permit those to build "upon Velia, whom you think more worthy to be "entrusted with your liberty, than Publius Valerius."

All the materials were accordingly brought down to the valley below Velia, and his house was built at

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the foot of the hill, where the temple of Victory now stands.

CHAP. VIII.

P. Valerius proposes a law, for allowing appeals to the people. The capitol dedicated.

AFTER this, the consul made laws, which not only cleared him of all suspicion of aiming at sovereign power, but on the contrary, made him even popular. From this consideration, he got the name of Publicola. The laws, which above all others, raised him in the esteem of the public, were these, which made an appeal to the people competent, from the judgment of the magistrates, and the person and effects of him, who should form any plot for usurping the sovereign power, execrable. These laws he passed while the only consul, that he might have the sole merit of them; and immediately after, he assembled the comitia for electing a colleague. Spurius Lucretius was chosen consul, who, being now very old, and quite unfit for the duties of his office, died in a few days after his election.

M. Horatius Pulvillus succeeded Lucretius. In some old histories, I do not find Lucretius mentioned as consul at all, but Horatius immediately after Brutus. The reason, I imagine, may be owing to this, that nothing remarkable happened, during the short time, he enjoyed his office.

The temple of Jupiter, was not yet dedicated in the capitol; wherefore Valerius and Horatius the consuls, cast lots, which of them should have the honour of performing that ceremony. The lot fell to Horatius, and Poplicola marched against the Vejentes. Valerius's friends showed more uneasiness than became them, that the honour of dedicating so famous a temple should have fallen to Horatius. Nothing was left unattempted to throw obstacles in the way, and after every other scheme had proved abortive, they endeavoured to surprize him with a melancholy piece of news, just as he was holding the post in the temple, and addressing his prayer to the god, telling him, "That his son was dead,

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" and that he could not dedicate the temple, when his " family were in mourning." Whether he gave no credit to this intelligence, or had resolution enough not to mind it, is not said, nor is it easy to conjecture. He only stoped while he ordered the body to be buried; and still holding the post, went on with his prayer, and finished the dedication. These were the most remarkable transactions at Rome, in peace, and in war, the first year after the expulsion of the kings. After which, Publius Valerius a second time, and Titus Lucretius, were made consuls.

CHAP. IX.

Porsenna prevailed on to espouse the quarrel of the Tarquins.

AFTER this, the Tarquins made their application to Lars Porsenna, king of Clusium *. There mingling their advice with intreaties, they now requested, " That he would never suffer them, who were Etrurians " by descent, and of the same blood and name, to live " in perpetual exile and poverty." Again they advised him, " by no means to suffer this growing practice of " banishing kings, to pass unrevenged. That liberty " had in itself many inducements; and if kings were not " as tenacious of the royal prerogative, as the people " were of their liberty, there would be an end to all " subordination. There would be no distinction among " mankind, all would be on a level. Then adieu to " monarchy, the most glorious institution among gods " or men."

Porsenna thinking it would add greatly to the honour of Etruria, to establish a king at Rome, especially one of their own nation, marched against it with a hostile army. Such consternation never seized the senate before, so formidable was Clusium, at that time, and so great was the reputation of Porsenna. Nor did their fear only extend to the enemy, they were apprehensive of their own citizens, lest the populace, overcome by their fears, should admit the tyrants into the city, and

* Chiusi.

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give their liberty in exchange for peace. Wherefore, great was the complaiſance which was ſhown to the people, by the ſenate, at that time.

Their firſt care was to lay in proviſions; for procuring which, agents were ſent among the Volſci and to Cumæ *. And becauſe the tax on ſalt was farmed at a very high rate, the monopoly was taken from private perſons, and committed to clerks, who were to manage it for the public. The common people were relieved of all impoſts and taxes whatever, which were laid upon the rich, who were able to bear them. The poor contributed enough to the ſtate, when they brought up their children. Wherefore this tenderneſs of the fathers, ſo united the hearts of the people, that notwithſtanding all the diſtreſſes they ſuffered, during the ſeige and famine, the name of king was equally deteſtable to high and low; nor could ever a man, ſince that period, by indirect practices, acquire a popularity equal to that which the ſenate obtained by their good government.

CHAP. X. *The Gallantry of Cocles.*

UPON the enemy's approach, every one, to ſave himſelf, fled from the country into the city: the city itſelf, they ſecured with ſtrong guards; and having walls upon one ſide, and the Tiber on the other, it ſeemed pretty well defended.

The bridge Sublicius, however, had almoſt opened a paſſage for the enemy into the city, when the gallantry of one man, Horatius Cocles prevented it. To him did the fortune of Rome, owe its defence that day. He happened to be placed ſentry on the bridge, when he ſaw the Janiculum taken by ſurpriſe, and the enemy running down from thence with all the ſpeed they could: obſerving a croud of the Romans, throwing down their arms, and leaving their ranks in confuſion, he laid hold of them, one by one, pulling them back, and beſeeching them, in the name of gods and men: he declared, "That their flight would ſignify nothing, if they once "deſerted their poſt; if they left the bridge behind

* A city of Campania.

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"them, free for the enemy to paſs, they would ſoon ſee "more of them in the Palatium and capitol, than in the "Janiculum; and, for that reaſon, he adviſed and "charged them to demoliſh the bridge by the ax, by "fire, or by any other means of deſtruction in their "power, that in the mean time, he would ſingly "ſuſtain the enemy's attack, with all the vigour he was "maſter of."

He then advanced to the entrance of the bridge, and being eaſily diſtinguiſhed among thoſe who had turned their backs and fled, facing about to engage with the enemy, hand to hand, by that ſurpriſing inſtance of gallantry, he confounded the Etrurians. Two, however, Spurius Lartius, and Titus Herminius, men eminent for their birth and noble actions, were aſhamed to leave him with them: for a ſhort time, he ſtood the firſt ſhock of danger, and the moſt diſorderly part of the aſſault; and at laſt, upon a call from thoſe who were employed in cutting down the bridge, he obliged his companions to retire, upon the little that remained. Then looking fiercely at the Etrurian officers, and with a threatening air, he challenged them one by one, and upbraided them all; telling them, "That they were the "ſlaves of haughty tyrants, who, regardleſs of their "own liberty, came to wreſt it from their neighbours."

They heſitated for ſome time, and looked at one another, who ſhould ſtep out to begin the attack; ſhame at length put the army in motion, who ſetting up a ſhout threw their javalins from every quarter at a ſingle enemy; all which, when he received on his ſhield, and ſtood firm and undaunted *, to keep poſſeſſion of the bridge, they endeavoured to juſtle him off by force; when the craſh of the bridge that was now broke down, and the ſhouts of the Romans, rejoicing that it was done, ſtunned them with the ſhock, and ſuſpended their fury. Then Cocles, "O father, Tiberinus," ſays he, "earneſtly "do I pray, that thou wouldſt receive theſe arms and "this ſoldier, and that thy ſtreams would be merciful." Wherefore, he threw himſelf into the Tiber, armed as

* *Ingens gradus*, ſtately ſtep.

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he was, and amidſt ten thouſand darts, that fell about him, he ſwimed acroſs the river to his own party, without the leaſt hurt; an exertion, that to poſterity will appear rather matter of wonder, than of fact.

For ſuch uncommon bravery, the public ſhowed every mark of reſpect. A ſtatue was erected for him in the Comitium, and he got as much land as he could encircle with a plough in one day. Nor were private families leſs eager in expreſſing their gratitude than the public; for, though the ſcarcity of proviſions was great, yet every one, in proportion to what he had in his family, ſaved ſome part of his own allowance, as a gratuity to him.

CHAP. XI.

Porſenna turns the ſiege into a blockade.

PORSENNA being repulſed in his firſt attempt, reſolved to turn the ſiege into a blockade; wherefore, having garriſoned the Janiculum, he encamped with the main army upon a plain, along the banks of the Tiber. Then having collected boats from all quarters, to enable him to guard the river ſo effectually, that no proviſions could be conveyed to Rome, and at the ſame time, to ſerve him as tranſports, when he ſhould chuſe upon occaſion, to ſend foraging parties to one place after another, on the other ſide of the river: in a ſhort time, he ſo harraſſed the country about the city, that the people were not only obliged to remove every thing elſe, but alſo to drive all their cattle into the city, nor durſt any body venture them without the gates.

The Etrurians were permitted to take theſe liberties, not more through fear, than good policy; for the conſul Valerius, watching his opportunity of falling on them unexpectedly when a numerous party, and ſtraggling without order through the fields, he ſuffered ſmall parties to paſs with impunity, reſerving the weight of his indignation for occaſions more important.

Therefore, to enſnare theſe ravagers, he ordered multitudes of his own people, to drive out the cattle next day, at the Equiline gate, which lay fartheſt from the

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enemy, presuming they would get intelligence; because it was hardly possible, that with the closeness of the blockade, and severity of the famine, the slaves would all continue faithful, but some of them desert to the enemy.

It happened accordingly, that they were informed by a deserter, a much greater number had crossed the river now, from a persuasion, that they were to carry off all the cattle together. Upon this, Valerius orders Titus Herminius to post himself with a pretty considerable party, on the Gabinian way, about two miles from the city, so as they might not be observed; Spurius Lartius to post himself at the gate Collina, with a select corps of light armed youth, till the enemy should pass, and then to throw himself between them and the river, to prevent their return.

Titus Lucretius, the other consul, sallied out at the port Nævia, with some companies of foot, whilst Valerius himself, led some select cohorts out from mount Cælius; and these were the first that were observed by the enemy. The moment Herminius heard the noise, he burst from his concealment; and the Etrurians having now turned to charge Valerius, he galled them in the rear. The alarm was given on the right and left, from the ports Collina and Nævia. Thus these marauders were surrounded and cut to pieces, being too weak for resistance, and every avenue blocked up, that could facilitate their escape. This proved a lesson to the Etrurians, with regard to straggling parties.

CHAP. XII. *Mucius's adventure.*

NOTWITHSTANDING of all this, the blockade was continued, whilst, at the same time, scarcity, as well as a prodigious dearth of provisions prevailed; by which means, Porsenna was not without hopes, that only by continuing the siege, the city would surrender in course.

Then, Caius Mucius, a young Roman of noble birth, reflecting, with indignation, that the Roman people, when enslaved by the hand of tyranny, had never once been blocked up by any enemy; and that now, when

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they were a free and independent people, they were confined within their walls by the Etrurians, an enemy, whoſe backs they had ſeen more than once; and being determined, by ſome great and noble adventure, to be revenged for this diſgrace, had at firſt reſolved, to penitrate into the enemy's camp, without communicating his deſign to any body: but then, upon reflection, he was afraid, that ſhould he go without the knowledge, or conſent of the conſuls, he might be ſeized by the Roman guards, and brought back as a deſerter, eſpecially at a time, when the condition of the city would juſtify the accuſation. He therefore goes to the ſenate, and tells them; "I intend, fathers, to croſs the Tiber, "and, if poſſible, enter the enemy's camp, not with a "view of making repriſals, or taking revenge for their "depredations on us. No: My deſign, with the aſſiſt-"ance of the gods, is more noble and glorious."

He obtained the approbation of the fathers. Wherefore, concealing a poniard below his clothes, he ſets out upon his adventure. After he had got into the enemy's camp, he planted himſelf among the thickeſt of the croud, near the king's tribunal.

It ſo happened, that the ſoldiers were then receiving their pay; and the king's ſecretary ſitting by him, and dreſſed almoſt in the ſame uniform, was much employed in diſpatching buſineſs, and receiving petitions. Afraid to aſk, which of the two was Porſenna, leſt his ignorance in that particular ſhould betray him; as fortune blindly directed the thruſt, he ſtabed the ſecretary, inſtead of the king. Endeavouring to make his eſcape from thence, he opened a paſſage for himſelf, with his bloody dagger, through the trembling croud; when the cry was given, the king's guards gathered about him, and ſeizing him, brought him back to the royal preſence; there too, threatened with fortune on every hand, with a look that ſtruck more terror, than it expreſſed fear, he addreſſed the king as follows; "I am a citizen of Rome; my name "is Caius Mucius. As an enemy, I would have killed "my enemy: nor am I leſs determined to receive, than "I was to give the fatal blow. A Roman has not only "ſpirit to act, but to ſuffer. Believe me, I am not the "only perſon you have to fear; there is a long liſt after

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" me, candidates for the fame honour. Wherefore, " prepare for their attempts, if you pleaſe; for every " hour you muſt run the riſk of your life. You have the " enemy, and his ſword drawn, in the very door of your " tent. This war, we, the Roman youth have de- " nounced againſt you; and if you eſcape, you need be " afraid of no army,—no battle, again. It is with " you, and you alone, that we, one by one, have " to do."

When the king, at once boiling with paſſion, and terrified with his danger, in a menacing tone, ordered fires to be kindled about him, if he did not inſtantly diſcover the plots, which, by his threats, he had darkly inſinuated, were prepared againſt him. "Only ſee," ſays he, " how little bodily pain is regarded by thoſe, " whoſe ambition is glory;" and with that thruſt his right-hand into the fire, that was lighted for the ſacrifice. When he continued to broil it, as if inſenſible of pain, the king ſtruck, as it were, with aſtoniſhment, at ſo much intrepidity, jumped down from his throne, and ordered the youth to be removed from the altar, at the ſame time, addreſſing him thus: " Yes; get away from " hence, your adventurous ſpirit has hurt yourſelf " more than me. I would encourage you to perſevere " in your virtue; had that reſolution been exerted for " my country. Now, I diſcharge you from the right " war gives me over you, and I diſmiſs you without " violence, or injury." Then Mucius, as if he would not be outdone in generoſity, made the following return: " Since you pay ſo great a reſpect for virtue, you will " draw a confeſſion from me by your generoſity, that " you could not have extorted by your threats: Know, " that three hundred young noblemen, of the firſt diſ- " tinction in Rome, have conſpired to take away your " life, in the manner I have attempted. It was my lot " to make the firſt effort: the reſt will follow in courſe; " and each will aſſail you, in his own time, as fortune " ſhall give him an opportunity."

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CHAP. XIII.

Porſenna concludes a peace with Rome. Adventure of Clælia.

MUCIUS being thus diſmiſſed, who afterwards, from the loſs of his right-hand, got the ſir-name of Scævola; ambaſſadors from Porſenna, followed him to Rome. So ſtrongly had he been impreſſed with the firſt attempt againſt him, in which nothing had ſaved him but a miſtake of the hand that directed it, and reflecting, that he muſt repeatedly run the ſame riſk, while a ſingle one of the conſpirators exiſted, he was determined, to offer conditions of peace to the Romans, as a motion from himſelf.

He endeavoured, though to no purpoſe, to have the reſtoration of the Tarquins made a clauſe in the articles of pacification, becauſe he could not refuſe them that favour; not but that he knew well the Romans would never accede to the propoſal. An article, requiring the reſtitution of lands to the Vejentes, was granted; and the Romans agreed to give hoſtages, upon condition the garriſon ſhould be withdrawn from the Janiculum. Peace being now ſettled upon theſe terms, Porſenna drew off his troops from the Janiculum, and evacuated the Roman territory. The fathers, in conſideration of Mucius's ſpirited conduct, made him a preſent of lands on the other ſide of the Tiber, which ever after, went by the name of the meadows of Mucius.

Bravery being thus diſtinguiſhed, the ladies too were emulous, by their actions to do honour to their country. Clælia, a young lady, one of the hoſtages, as the camp of the Etrurians, was at no great diſtance from the banks of the Tiber, having eſcaped from her guard, put herſelf at the head of a troop of her companions, and amidſt a ſhower of the enemy's darts, ſwam to the other ſide of the river, brought them to Rome, and delivered them ſafe to their relations. At which, when it was told to the king, he was at firſt offended, and ſent deputies to Rome, demanding Clælia to be delivered up again; for the reſt, he did not much regard. Afterwards tranſ-

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ported with admiration, he said, that this was an action superior to the atchievements of Cocles and Mucius, and he would make a point of it, if the hostage was not returned, that he would consider himself no longer bound by the treaty; but if she were, he would send her back to her parents inviolate.

Both parties acted honourably; the Romans restored the hostage, according to treaty, and her virtue was not only safe with Porsenna, but her bravery greatly honoured. After many encomiums, he offered to present her with some of the hostages; and she might choose whom she pleased. When they were all brought out, it is said, that she made choice of the young men under age, both because it was most consistent with her character, and approved of by the hostages themselves, as their time of life required, that they should be first at liberty, as being less able to bear the rigours of slavery.

The peace being renewed, the Romans distinguished this extraordinary bravery in a lady, by an extraordinary honour, namely an Equestrian statue, which they erected for her, on the top of the Via Sacra, representing a lady on horseback.

CHAP. XIV.

Aruns, Porsenna's son, roughly handled at Aricia.

THE custom handed down to us from the ancients, and still retained among the other solemn usages at this day, when goods are exposed to vendue, of calling that a sale of the goods of Porsenna, does not at all accord with the peaceable departure of that king from Rome. This usage must either have originated during the war, and been continued after the peace, or must have been founded on principles of greater humanity, than the title of selling an enemy's effects, seems to import. The most probable reason that has been assigned, seems to be, that Porsenna, when he marched from Janiculum, made a present of his camp, richly stocked with provisions, conveyed to him from the adjacent fruitful plains of Etruria: that the city, at that time, being in great distress, occasioned by the length of the

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ſiege; theſe effects left in the camp were ſold, to prevent the people from breaking in to riffle them, and that they were called the goods of Porſenna, rather in compliment to his generoſity, than that his property was expoſed to vendue, which the Romans had never in their power.

The war with Rome being thus laid aſide, that his army might not ſeem to have been led into theſe countries for nothing, Porſenna ſent his ſon Aruns, with a detachment of it, to lay ſiege to Aricia. At firſt, the Aricians were ſtruck with this unexpected invaſion; but afterwards, having procured aſſiſtance from the people of Latium and Cumæ, they thought themſelves ſufficiently ſtrong to venture a battle. Then the Etrurians charged with ſuch prodigious fury, that the Aricians immediately gave way; but the Cuman cohorts oppoſed good generalſhip to force. They fell back for a little, and after the enemy had paſſed them in great diſorder, turned and charged them in the rear.

Thus were the Etrurians, though they had almoſt a complete victory, ſurrounded and cut to pieces. A part of them, by far the leaſt, having loſt their general, and having no nearer ſafe retreat, came to Rome, without their arms, in circumſtances and a condition not to be envied. There they met with a kind reception, and were hoſpitably entertained. When their wounds were cured, ſome of them went home, where they made honourable mention of the civilities they had met with at Rome. Many of them out of regard to their hoſts, and attachment to the city, ſtaid at Rome, where ground was aſſigned them to build upon, ever ſince called the Tuſcan ſtreet.

CHAP. XV.

Porſenna ſent an embaſſy to Rome.

AFTER this, P. Lucretius, and P. Valerius Publicola, were made conſuls for the third time. That year, Porſenna ſent an embaſſy to Rome, to treat of a reſtoration of the Tarquins, for the laſt time; by whom, though they could have returned an anſwer, the ſenate chooſed

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to ſend ambaſſadors to the king, and immediately the moſt honourable of that order were commiſſioned for the purpoſe; telling him, "That the anſwer to his embaſſy might have been very ſhort; that monarchy would never be re-eſtabliſhed at Rome, but they rather choſe to depute the moſt illuſtrious of their body to himſelf, than give that anſwer to his ambaſſadors at Rome. But that the affair of the Tarquins, might be for ever buried in oblivion, and no anxiety ariſe on that ſcore, to interrupt the perfect union and amicable footing they were on at preſent, by making a requiſition, entirely inconſiſtent with the liberty of the Roman people, and putting them under the diſagreeable neceſſity of refuſing him a requeſt, to whom they would wiſh to be all compliance, or ſubſcribing voluntarily to their own deſtruction. That the Roman people were not now under the government of kings; their motto was *Liberty*, and they were reſolved to open their gates to any of their enemies, ſooner than to kings; nay, there was not a citizen of Rome, but was firmly determined, that the exiſtence of their liberty, and that of the city, ſhould have the ſame period. Wherefore, they earneſtly intreated, if he wiſhed them well, he would permit them to be free."

Overcome by the modeſty of their arguments, the king anſwered; "Since you are ſo irrevocably fixed and determined, I will give you no farther trouble, by repeating the ſame requeſt to no purpoſe; nor will I amuſe the Tarquins with the hopes of aſſiſtance, I am not diſpoſed to give; but whether they chooſe to leave at peace, or have recourſe to war, they muſt find ſome other retreat in their exile, that nothing may interrupt the peace ſubſiſting between you and me." To theſe expreſſions of friendſhip, he added very ſignal acts of generoſity: For he reſtored the hoſtages that had been left with him, and the lands of the Vejentes, ceded to him by the treaty of Janiculum. Tarquin deſpairing now of a poſſibility of being re-eſtabliſhed, retired to Mamilius Octavius, his ſon-in-law, at Tuſculum. Thus was the peace with Porſenna inviolably obſerved.

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CHAP. XVI.

War with the Sabines. Revolt of Pometia. Death of Valerius.

AFTER this, M. Valerius and P. Poſthumius, were choſen conſuls. This year the Roman arms were ſucceſsful againſt the Sabines, and the conſuls received the honour of a triumph. Upon this, the Sabines renewed their preparations with more vigour than ever. The better to guard againſt them, and to prevent any ſurpriſe from Tuſculum, whence they were apprehenſive of a war, though no declaration had enſued, P. Valerius for the fourth time, and Lucretius for the ſecond time, were made conſuls.

The Sabines were ſplit into two factions, one of which were for peace, and the other for war, by which means, a part of their ſtrength was transferred to Rome. For Atta Clauſus, afterwards called Appius Claudius at Rome, having always declared for peace, being for that reaſon harſhly treated, by thoſe in the oppoſition, for whom he was by no means a match, fled from Regillum with a conſiderable number of vaſſals in his retinue, and ſettled in Rome. They were made citizens, and had lands aſſigned them on the other ſide of the Anio. They went by the name of the old Claudian tribe, and were afterwards increaſed with the addition of ſome ſmall tribes, which had come from that country. Appius himſelf being brought into the ſenate, in a ſhort time roſe to the higheſt dignity of that order.

The conſuls marched into the Sabine territory with an hoſtile army; and by ravaging their country, and afterwards by defeating them in battle, having reduced them ſo low, that they had no reaſon to dread an inſurrection for a conſiderable time, returned to Rome in triumph.

The next year in the conſulſhip of Agrippa Menenius, and P. Poſthumius, died P. Valerius, allowed by all to have been the ableſt man in Rome, both in the arts of peace and war, full of glory, but ſo deſtitute of the goods of fortune, that his funeral charges could not be defrayed from his own eſtate, and he was therefore bu-

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ried at the public expence. The ladies mourned for him, as they had done for Brutus.

This year too, two Latin colonies, Pometia and Corę, revolted to the Aurunci, againſt whom war was commenced, and a numerous army of them being defeated, who had the boldneſs to make head againſt the conſuls entering their country; the whole weight of the war fell upon Pometia. After the battle, the Arunci were ſpared no more than in the heat of action. For many more were ſlain than taken; and the priſoners were put to the ſword without diſtinction: nor did even the hoſtages, to the number of three hundred, eſcape the rage of war. This year alſo, there was a triumph at Rome.

CHAP. XVII.

Defeat of the Arunci, and capture of Pometia.

THE following conſuls, Opiter Virginius, and Sp. Caſſius, firſt endeavoured to take Pometia by ſtorm, and afterwards by a cloſe ſiege, by raiſing Veneæ *, and other works.

But the Arunci, inſtigated more by an irreconcileable hatred, than any hopes of ſucceeding, or the advantage of a favourable opportunity, made a ſally, and armed with lighted torches, rather than ſwords, ſcattered fire and ſlaughter every where. Having burnt down the Vineæ, and killed and wounded many of the beſiegers, one of the conſuls, but which of them is not ſaid, was thrown from his horſe mortally wounded, and left almoſt dead in the field. Upon this diſaſter, the Romans returned home, and the conſul was left among many who were wounded, with but very little hopes of his recovery.

Having employed a ſhort time in curing their wounds, and recriting their army, againſt Pometia they marched, with a more numerous army, and hearts more keenly ſet on revenge. The Vineæ and other works were re-

* This was a warlike engine made of timber and hurdles, under which, in an aſſault they came ſafely under the walls of a town and ſo ſcaled them.

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paired, and the ſiege ſo far advanced, that the ſoldiers were juſt about to ſcale the walls, when the town ſurrendered. The Arunci, however, ſhared the ſame fate, as if the city had been taken by aſſault; for the principal citizens were all beheaded, the reſt ſold for ſlaves, the city razed, and eſtates expoſed to ſale. The conſuls obtained the honour of a triumph, rather in compliment to the ſeverity of the revenge taken on the enemy, than the importance of the war they had finiſhed.

CHAP. XVIII. *A Dictator created at Rome.*

IN the following year, Poſthumus Cominius and T. Lartius, ſucceeded to the conſulate. During the celebration of the games at Rome, as ſome of the Sabine youth were hurrying along with them ſome women of the town in a frolic, the mob roſe upon them, and the ſcuffle that enſued had well nigh ended in a bloody battle: and this circumſtance, however inconſiderable in itſelf, ſeemed to put the whole nation in a ferment. Add to this, the dread of a war with the Latins: certain intelligence they received, that thirty different nations had entered into a confederacy againſt them, at the inſtigation of Octavius Mamilius.

Whilſt the city was under the greateſt concern about the event of ſuch mighty preparations againſt them, the nomination of a dictator was propoſed for the firſt time; but in what year it happened, and who were the conſuls that were ſuſpected to be in Tarquin's intereſt, is extremely uncertain. Nor does hiſtory authorize us to ſay, who was the firſt dictator. The moſt antient hiſtorians condeſcend upon Titus Lartius, as being the firſt that was raiſed to that high office; and on Spurius Caſſius, as his general of the horſe. To men of conſular dignity, by the law made for the election of a dictator, their choice was confined. For which reaſon, I ſhould rather imagine, that Lartius, who had been conſul, was appointed to an office ſuperior to the conſulate, rather than Manius Valerius, the ſon of Marcus, and grandſon of Voleſus, who as yet had never been inveſted with the conſular dignity. For had they pointed particularly at one of that family, they would certainly have paid the

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compliment to his father Valerius, who had been conſul, and given proofs of his merit.

When the dictator was firſt created at Rome, and the people ſaw the axes carried before him, they were ſtruck with prodigious awe, and became very ſubmiſſive and obedient. For it was not now, as under the conſular government, where, the power being equal, they might have influence on one of them; or, at any rate, appeal to the people. Here there was no alternative, but abſolute ſubmiſſion and obedience. The Sabines too, were not without their fears, when they heard that a dictator was created at Rome, more eſpecially being perſuaded, that they were the object againſt whom he was pointed. Wherefore they ſent ambaſſadors to ſue for peace, requeſting of the dictator and ſenate, that they would pardon the folly of the youth. They received for anſwer, that they could eaſily forgive the folly of the young men, but the petulance of the old, who were conſtantly hatching one war after another, could not ſo eaſily be overlooked. They continued, however their negotiations about a peace, which would at laſt have been concluded, had the Sabines thought proper to comply with a demand of reimburſing the Romans in the expence they had been at in their preparations for war. War was accordingly proclaimed, but a truce privately concluded kept all quiet for that year.

CHAP. XIX. *War with the Latins.*

THE conſuls were Servius Sulpitius, and Manius Tullus; but during their adminiſtration, nothing remarkable happened. They were ſucceeded by T. Æbutius, and C. Veturius. During their conſulſhip, Fidenæ was beſieged, Cruſtumeria taken; and from the Latins, Prænеſte revolted to the Romans. Upon this, the war with the Latins, which had been gathering for ſome years, immediately broke out. The dictator, A. Poſthumius, and his general of the horſe, marching at the head of a numerous army of horſe and foot to the lake Regillus, in the territory of Tuſculum, came up with the enemy, and getting intelligence that the Tarquins were among the Latins, could no longer ſuppreſs

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their fury, but charged them immediately. For this reaſon, the battle was more bloody and deſperate than uſual; the generals not only giving orders, and ſeeing them properly executed, but expoſing their perſons in the hotteſt of the action; ſo that ſcarce an officer on either ſide, excepting the Roman dictator, eſcaped without a wound.

Whilſt Poſthumius was drawing up and haranguing his men, Tarquin the proud, altho' weak and unweildy by years, rode up with great fury to attack him; but receiving a blow on the ſide, he was carried off ſafe by a party of his own people. In the other wing, Æbutius, general of the horſe, had ſingled out Octavius Mamilius, who on his part, obſerving his motions, did by no means avoid him, but put ſpurs to his horſe to meet him. With lance in hand, they puſhed againſt each other ſo impetuouſly, that Æbutius was run through the arm, and Mamilius wounded in the breaſt. Æbutius, incapable of holding his lance any longer, by means of the wound in his arm, left the field; whilſt the Latin general was received into the ſecond line, and returned ſoon after to the charge, without regard to his wound. Obſerving his troops in diſorder, he made the cohort of the Roman exiles advance, commanded by Titus. Stimulated by revenge againſt enemies who had deprived them of their fortunes and country, they fought deſperately; and, by that means, in ſome meaſure, reſtored the battle.

CHAP. XX. *Battle of Regillus.* A. R. 258.

WHEN the Romans began to give ground on that ſide, Valerius, brother to Publicola, perceiving young Tarquin, who ſhewed himſelf at the head of theſe exiles with haughtineſs and defiance, eager to acquire his family the honour of putting to death, as it had already of expelling the Tarquins, he ſpurred his horſe full ſpeed againſt him, in order to pierce him through with his lance. Tarquin, to avoid the charge of ſo terrible an enemy, fell back into a battalion of his men: and whilſt Valerius purſued him with inconſiderate ardour among the exiles, he was run through the body by one of them; and the wound of the rider having no impreſ-

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ſion on the horſe's career, the Roman fell breathleſs to the ground, with his arms above him.

Poſthumius, the dictator, ſeeing the fall of this brave man, and the bold and rapid movement of the exiles, before whom his troops were giving way, gave the ſignal to his own cohort, a ſet of brave fellows, which he kept about his perſon as body-guards, to treat every Roman ſoldier, who ſhould attempt to run away, as an enemy. The Romans finding their danger the ſame in front as in rear, returned to the charge, and reſtored the battle. The dictator's cohort, who had not been engaged before, now, with freſh vigour and courage, fell upon the wearied exiles, and cut them to pieces. Here the principal officers on each ſide engaged a ſecond time.

The Latin general, ſeeing the exiles juſt on the point of being ſurrounded by the dictator, flew to the front with ſome companies of the corps-de-reſerve. Titus Herminius, the lieutenant-general, obſerving the movement of this corps, and Mamilius at their head, diſtinguiſhed from the reſt, by his dreſs and arms, he charged him with a force ſo much ſuperior to the general of the horſe, that at the firſt puſh he laid him dead with his lance. But whilſt he was intent upon taking the ſpoils, he received a wound himſelf with a javelin from the enemy; and though he was carried back to the camp victorious, he expired under the ſurgeons hands a moment after.

Then the dictator flew to the horſe, beſeeching them to alight and relieve the foot, wearied out with fighting. They inſtantly obeyed; and having diſmounted, flew to the van, covering thoſe in the front ranks with their round bucklers. This gave new ſpirits to the foot, ſeeing the young nobility ſerving on a level with themſelves, and ſharing the ſame dangers. The Latins, being thus repulſed and ſtruck with terror, retreated. The cavalry remounted, the better to purſue the enemy; and the infantry alſo followed.

The dictator, attentive to every thing that could conciliate the aſſiſtance of gods and men, is ſaid to have vowed a temple to Caſtor, and alſo to have promiſed rewards to the firſt and ſecond man, who ſhould enter the enemy's camp: And ſuch was the ardour of the Ro-

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mans, that they continued the charge with unremitted vigour, till they became masters of the enemy's camp. Such was the event of the battle of Regillus. The dictator and general of the horse, returned to the city in triumph.

CHAP. XXI.

News of Tarquin's death. A temple dedicated to Mercury.

FOR the three succeeding years, there was neither open war, nor settled peace. Q. Clælius and Titus Lartius, and then A. Sempronius and M. Minutius were consuls. During their presidency, a temple was dedicated to Saturn, and the Saturnalia * appointed to be kept as a festival.

I find in some authors that the battle of Regillus happened this year; and that A. Posthumius having resigned his office of consul, because his colleague's fidelity was suspected, was afterwards made dictator. Such gross errors in chronology are blended with the history of these times, some ranking the magistrates in one order, and some in another, that according to some writers, it is impossible to say with any degree of precision, who were consuls, or what year was distinguished by any remarkable event, by reason of the antiquity of the facts, and the historians who relate them.

This year was remarkable at Rome, for the news they received of the death of Tarquin. The intelligence raised the spirits of senate and people to a very high pitch. The joy of the fathers was rather extravagant; for, from that moment, they began to behave very insolently to the commons, whom to that day, in every instance, they had treated with all imaginable complaisance.

This same year also, the colony which Tarquin had sent to Signia was recruited by a new supply of planters. The tribes at Rome were increased to twenty-one, and the temple of Mercury was dedicated on the 15th of May.

* During the celebration of this festival in honour of Saturn, which lasted three, five, seven, and sometimes nine days, friendship was cultivated to a high degree, and there was a total vacation from all business.

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CHAP. XXII.

Honourable behaviour of the Latins.

DURING the conteſt with the Latins, the Volſci could not properly be ſaid to have kept the peace, or to have been at war with Rome. For they had muſtered a force, with which they intended to have ſupported the Latins, but the alertneſs of the Roman dictator prevented them; for he made forced marches, that he might not be obliged to make head againſt both at the ſame time. Full of reſentment for this conduct, the conſuls led the Roman legions againſt the country of the Volſci, who ſuſpecting no evil conſequence from their intention, were the more alarmed at the unexpected motion. Wherefore, without any thought of arms, they deliver the children of the firſt nobility of Cora and Pometia to the number of 300, to remain as hoſtages for their good behaviour: upon which the legions were withdrawn without ſtriking a ſtroke.

Not long after, when the Volſci had recovered of their fright, their natural diſpoſition began to ſhow itſelf.—Once more having entered into an alliance with the Hernici, they made ſecret preparations for war. They likewiſe had embaſſies all over the country, ſolliciting the Latins to join in the confederacy. But the late overthrow at the lake Regillus ſtuck ſo deep in their ſtomachs, that they could liſten to no overtures relating to war without indignation and abhorrence at thoſe who made them, inſomuch, that they did not even ſpare the ambaſſadors themſelves, but ſeized and ſent them to Rome. There they were delivered up to the conſuls, to whom alſo were the warlike preparations of the Hernici and Volſci communicated.

The matter being laid before the ſenate, the fathers were ſo charmed with the honourable behaviour of the Latins, that they ſent home 6000 of their priſoners; referring to the new magiſtrates to conclude a treaty with them, a ſuit, which till that time had been almoſt conſtantly refuſed. The Latins, however, exulted in what they had done; and they who had adviſed to peace,

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were highly reſpected. They ſent to the capitol, a crown of gold, as an offering to Jupiter; and many of the priſoners, who had been ſent home to their relations, came in the retinue of the ambaſſadors who brought it. They waited on thoſe whoſe ſlaves they had been, and very politely thanked them for the civilities and kindneſs ſhewn them in their diſtreſs. Never, at any former period, either in public or in private, had the Latins endeared themſelves ſo much to the Republic of Rome.

CHAP. XXIII.

Diſturbances at Rome on account of Uſury. A. R. 259.

BUT the war with the Volſci was ſtill impending; and the city, divided within itſelf, was inflamed with civil diſcord between the ſenate and people, which originated in the cruelties practiſed upon the debtors. They complained bitterly, that they who fought abroad for liberty and extenſion of empire, ſhould be ſeized and oppreſſed at home by their fellow-citizens: war to them was more ſalutary than peace, and foreign enemies leſs inimical to the liberty of the populace than their countrymen.

This reſentment, which naturally ſpread of itſelf, was conſiderably inflamed by the unhappy circumſtances of a ſingle perſon. An old man appeared in the forum, with the teſtimonies about him of all he had ſuffered; his cloaths were greaſy and ragged, and his perſon made ſtill a more wretched figure, being feeble, pale, and emaciated: a long beard, and hair neglected and in diſorder, completed the hideouſneſs of his figure. Through all his uncouth outſide, he was however known, and out of compaſſion whiſpered about for a centurion, who had acquired many military rewards by his valour.

In teſtimony of the gallantry of his behaviour on ſeveral occaſions, he ſhowed the wounds on his breaſt. When the people crowding about him, as if ſummoned to an aſſembly, aſked him how he came to be in thoſe circumſtances; he told them, "That his land having "been ravaged by the depredations of the enemy, dur-"ing the war with the Sabines, in which he ſerved, he "had not only loſt the crop for a year, but his farm

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" had been burnt, his effects plundered, and his cattle " carried off. That to add to his misfortune, the pay- " ment of a tax had been exacted from him at a very " unseasonable time, which laid him under the necessity " of borrowing; that interest rising upon interest, he " had been obliged to sell his paternal estate, and after- " wards all his moveable subject. At length the disease " had spread to his body, and overspread his whole " person: That his creditors had carried him prisoner " from his house, where they had not been so generous " as treat him like a slave, but as a malefactor condem- " ned to the torture." With these word he bared his back, and shewed the still recent marks of the rods and whips with which he had been tortured.

This history, and the proofs that supported it, raised a prodigious outcry. The tumult was no longer confined to the forum, but spread through all quarters of the city. All such as had been delivered up to their creditors, and now at liberty, appeared in public, imploring the protection of the people. The mob was joined by volunteers from every quarter. Multitudes repaired from all the streets to the forum, with furious shouts. Such of the senators as happened to be on the spot, would have been in danger of their lives, had not the consuls, Publius Servilius, and Ap. Claudius hastened to quell the riot. The whole multitude turned towards these magistrates, shewing them their chains, and other marks of inhuman treatment; telling them that these were all the rewards of their past services in arms, every one upbraiding them with the different campaigns they had made. With a menacing rather than suppliant air, they insisted that the senate should be assembled; and determined, as it were, to direct and over-rule their deliberations, they crouded round the senate-house.

A small number of the senators, whom accident had brought thither, joined the consuls; fear prevented the rest from making their appearance, either in the senate-house, or forum. The thinness of the house, prevented them from entering upon business. This circumstance was only considered by the mob, as an evasion to gain time. They exclaimed, that the senators had absented themselves, not from fear, nor any accidental cause;

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but from design, to elude their demand. That the consuls themselves only trifled with them, and it was too evident, that they only insulted their miseries.

To so great a height did the sedition rise, that the respect due to consular authority, could hardly restrain the violence of the mutineers. At length, however, the fathers, persuaded that it would be full as dangerous to stay at home, as to appear, came to the senate-house: but though by this time the house was full, the members were far from being unanimous; nay, the consuls themselves, were divided in their sentiments. Appius, a man of a violent temper, was of opinion, that this insurrection should be suppressed, by the authority of the consuls; and that if one or two of them were seized, the rest would be quiet of course. Servilius, who was more moderate, gave it as his opinion, that whilst the people were in this ferment, it would not only be easier, but a much safer measure, to bend, than to break them. But amidst these debates and deliberations, something still more alarming occurred.

CHAP. XXIV. *War with the Volsci.*

COURIERS came post from Latium, with the disagreeable advice, that the Volsci had taken the field with a numerous army, and were in full march to lay siege to the city; which intelligence, so much had these intestine broils divided the city, produced very different effects in the senate, and among the people. The populace exulted with joy, crying out that the gods were coming to avenge the pride of the fathers. They exhorted each other, not to give in their names for the war; if they must go to perdition, let it be in company with all the orders of the state, and not by themselves.—That the senators might take arms, and march against the enemy; let them who reaped the fruits of war, encounter the dangers of it.

The senate, in so critical a conjuncture, having every thing to fear from within, as well as without the walls, were in the utmost perplexity; wherefore, they entreated the consul Servilius, whose disposition was milder and more popular than his colleagues, to exert himself

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for the delivery of the ſtate, from the evils that threatened it.

Servilius having diſmiſſed the ſenate, repaired to an aſſembly of the people, where he tells them, That the fathers had nothing more at heart, than the redreſs of their grievances; but in the moment they were deliberating on proper meaſures for their intereſt, who were but a part, though by far the greateſt, a far more ſerious ſubject of fear had occurred to interrupt them, which regarded the whole community. Nor was it poſſible for them, while the enemy had almoſt reached their gates, to apply their minds to any other ſubject, but the war. And though ſome reſpite were given, it would not become the people to refuſe to take up arms for their country, till they had been paid before hand, and as little for the honour of the ſenate, to provide for their inſolvent citizens, through motives ariſing from their preſent fears, than afterwards as the effects of inclination. To convince the aſſembly of the reality of theſe intentions, he publiſhed a proclamation, "Prohibiting all and ſundries, from detaining a Roman citizen, in priſon, or "in chains, ſo as to prevent his enliſting himſelf under "the conſuls; and from ſeizing, or ſelling the effects "of any ſoldier, or arreſting his children, or grand-"children, while he remained in camp." This edict being publiſhed, the debtors who were preſent, immediately gave in their names; and as now their perſons could not be detained by their creditors, came out from their concealments, and crouded into the forum, to take the military oath. Of theſe a conſiderable party was completed, and none behaved with greater gallantry, or contributed more to put an end to the war with the Volſci. The conſul led out his army againſt the enemy, and encamped not far from them.

CHAP. XXV. *Defeat of the Volſci.*

THE next night the Volſci, confiding in the differences that ſubſiſted among the Romans, made an attempt upon their camp, expecting to find ſome under cover of the night, who would either deſert to them, or betray the reſt. They were diſcovered by the guard,

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an alarm ſpread, and upon a ſignal given, they ran to arms. Thus were the Volſci diſappointed in their deſign; and both parties, for the remainder of that night, continued quiet. Next morning early, the Volſci having filled up the ditches, made an attack upon the rampart. Already had they begun to break down the palliſadoes on all ſides, but the conſul, willing to try the mettle of his ſoldiers, delayed coming to action for ſome time, although the ſoldiers, from every quarter, eſpecially the debtors, cried out to him to give the ſignal. But now, convinced of their ardour, he at length gave the word of command, and the ſoldiers eager to attack, made a general ſally from every gate of the camp.

The enemy unable to ſtand ſo vigorous a charge, were put to flight; the foot purſued, and put all to the ſword they could overtake. The reſt were driven in great conſternation by the horſe to their camp, which was immediately inveſted by the legions, ſoon after deſerted by the Volſci in a panic, and taken and plundered by the ſoldiers.

The enemy fled to Sueſſa Pometia, whether the Roman legions purſued them, the day after. In a few days the city was taken, and given to be plundered by the ſoldiers, which was ſome relief in their preſent diſtreſs. The conſul, marched back his victorious army to Rome, with the greateſt glory. When he was applied to by the deputies of the Ecetrans, who were a part of the Volſci, and after Pometia was taken, were afraid for themſelves. The ſenate, by their decree, granted them peace, but their lands were taken from them.

CHAP. XXVI. *The Sabines and Arunci defeated.*

IMMEDIATELY after this, a war with the Sabines menaced Rome, but it was rather a tumult than a war. The city was alarmed in the night, with an account, that the Sabine army was ravaging the country, and had advanced as far as the Anio, plundering and burning all the farm-houſes in their way. A. Poſthumius, who had been dictator in the war with the Latins, was immediately ſent againſt them with the cavalry, and the conſul Servilius followed him with a

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ſelect body of infantry. Moſt of the ſtragglers were cut off by the horſe, and the reſiſtance the Sabine legions made againſt the foot, when they came up with them, was not vigorous. Exhauſted with their march, and plundering the country in the night, and many of them overcharged with eating and drinking in the houſes as they had come along, had not ſtrength enough left to carry them away.

The war with the Sabines being begun and ended the ſame night, the next day, when the Romans thought they had now ſecured peace with all their neighbours, the ambaſſadors of the Arunci, came to the ſenate, threatening them with an immediate declaration of war, if they did not withdraw their troops from the territory of the Volſci. At the ſame time that the couriers took their departure for Rome, the army of the Arunci began their march. The report that it was ſeen near Aricia, occaſioned ſuch hurry and confuſion at Rome, that the ſenate could not be properly conſulted, and whilſt they were arming themſelves, they could not give a deliberate anſwer to thoſe who had laid them under that neceſſity. They immediately march for Aricia with a hoſtile army, nor was it far from thence, that they came up with the Arunci, whom they diſcuſſed in one battle.

CHAP. XXVII.

Diſputes about the debts between the Senate and People.

AFTER the defeat of the Arunci, the Romans, who had been victorious in ſo many battles, in ſo ſhort a time, now fully expected, that the promiſes made them by the conſul and ſenate, would have been put in execution. But Appius, from the native haughtineſs of his temper, and with a view to make void the promiſe his colleague had made the people, adjudged the cauſes of the debtors, with all the rigour the law would admit. In conſequence of which, they, who before had been priſoners, were delivered up to their creditors again, and others were alſo added to the liſt.

When diligence was to be executed againſt a ſoldier, he immediately applied to the other conſul. To Servi-

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lius the multitude crouded for relief. They reminded him of his promiſes, enumerating their reſpective ſervices, and expoſing the wounds they had received. They preſſed him to lay their caſe before the ſenate, that as their conſul, he might protect his citizens, and as their general, his ſoldiers.

Theſe arguments had ſufficient weight with the conſul, but circumſtances obliged him to temporize: for he had not only his colleague to combat with, but the whole body of the Patricians were unanimous againſt him. In endeavouring to pleaſe both parties, he had the good-will of neither. The ſenators conſidered him as a ſoft eaſy conſul, that flattered the multitude, and the people pronounced him a cheat; and it ſoon appeared that he was hated as much as Appius.

A diſpute aroſe about the dedication of the temple of Mercury, an honour, which each of the conſuls claimed as his right. The ſenate referred the cognizance of that affair to the people, and enacted, that whoever ſhould be promoted to that honour, ſhould preſide in the court of victualers, eſtabliſh a board of trade, and act as high prieſt, within the verge of the temple.

The people gave that honourable commiſſion to M. Lætorius, the firſt centurion of a legion; but it was abundantly evident, they did not raiſe him to an office ſo much above his rank, with a view to his particular honour, as to offer an open inſult to the conſuls. This affront ſet Appius and the ſenate in a terrible rage; but the people, who had now acquired more ſpirit, acted very differently, from what they had done at firſt. For diſpairing now of any redreſs from the conſuls and the ſenate, when they ſaw any debtor dragged to the tribunal, thither they crouded from all quarters. Whenever the conſul paſſed ſentence, they raiſed ſuch noiſe and clamour that it could not be heard; nor if it had, durſt any one attempt to put it in execution. Force now univerſally prevailed. Inſomuch, that when a ſingle debtor had been ſeized by a poſſe of officers in preſence of the conſul, danger and fear of ſervitude ſhifted ſides, and from the debtors flew upon the creditors.

Add to theſe inteſtine calamities, the terror of a war with the Sabines: for which, when a levy was decreed,

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not a man would give in his name, whilſt Appius was all fury, loudly complaining of the complacency of his colleague, who by a popular ſilence, betrayed the intereſts of his country, and beſides that he had not done juſtice, in reſpect to the debts, had neglected to make the levies decreed by the ſenate. "Yet, that the commonwealth was by no means abandoned, nor the conſular dignity without force, whilſt he alone remained to ſupport his own authority, and the honour of the ſenate."

When the mob, hardened in licentiouſneſs by conſtant uſe, ſtood about him, he ordered a remarkable ringleader of the ſedition to be ſeized, who, after he was in the cuſtody of the lictors, appealed to the people. The conſul would not have ſuffered this appeal to paſs, being well aware what the people's judgment would be, had he not, though with difficulty, been overperſuaded, rather by the wiſe remonſtrances and authority of the ſenate, than compelled by the ſeditious clamours of the people. The evil grew every day more ſerious. The multitude confined themſelves no longer to mere outcries, but what was of a much more dangerous tendency, they retired in parties to hold ſecret committees. At length, the conſuls quitted their office, both hated by the people: Appius was, however, much in the good graces of the ſenate, but Servilius neither of ſenate nor people.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Further conteſts, and the levies oppoſed.

THE new conſuls, were A. Virginius and T. Veturius. The commons, in the mean time, uncertain how theſe new magiſtrates would act, began to hold nocturnal conventions, partly on the Eſquiline, and partly on the Aventine hills, for the purpoſe of concerting ſuch meaſures, as exigences ſhould require, to prevent their being ſurprized into haſty reſolutions in the forum, or taking meaſures inconſiderately, before they were properly digeſted. The conſuls conſidering

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how dangerous the conſequences of theſe cabals might turn out, made a report of them to the ſenate.

But the affair could not be taken regularly under conſideration, ſo much tumult and clamour aroſe from every part of the houſe, upon this repreſentation, againſt the conſuls, who, inſtead of doing the duties of their office, were for ridding themſelves of the odious part of it, by transferring it to the ſenate. "Were there really "magiſtrates in Rome," ſaid they, "there would be "only one public council: but the republic now was "ſplit into a thouſand ſenate-houſes and aſſemblies, "ſome of which were held on the Eſquiline, others on "the Aventine hill. One man of ſpirit, ſuch as Appius "Claudius, but that is of more conſideration than a "conſul, would ſend all theſe cabals a packing in an "inſtant."

The conſuls nettled at this reprimand, aſked the ſenate, in what manner they would have them to proceed, aſſuring them, at the ſame time, that they ſhould not want reſolution to act agreeable to their pleaſure. It was therefore determined, that they ſhould proceed to make the levies with all poſſible ſeverity, as the people were become inſolent, for want of employment. The ſenate being diſſolved, the conſuls aſcended their tribunal, and cited the younger citizens to enliſt by name; when nobody made anſwer, and the people crouding round, as if they had been ſummoned to an aſſembly, told them, "That the people would be no longer im-"poſed on, and that they ſhould not have a ſingle ſol-"dier, unleſs they performed the promiſe that had been "made them;—that before they put arms in their "hands, it was highly proper they ſhould reſtore them "their liberty, that they might know whether they "were to fight for their country and fellow-citizens, "or for deſpotic tyrants."

The conſuls knew well the extent of their commiſſion from the ſenate; but of all thoſe bold declaimers, who had talked ſo high within the walls of the ſenate-houſe, not one appeared to ſhare with them in the public odium. Beſides, it appeared, that this conteſt with the people would be a ſerious affair. Therefore, before they ſhould come to extremities, they judged it expedient, to talk

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over the matter with the ſenate a ſecond time, which they did accordingly. The young ſenators then crouded round the conſuls chairs, ordering them to abdicate the conſulſhip, and reſign an authority, they wanted ſpirit to ſupport.

CHAP. XXIX.

The Conſular authority ſlighted. Various plans propoſed.

THE conſuls having ſufficiently tried both experiments, made this ſhort reply; "Conſcript fa-"thers, remember, we tell you, that a terrible ſedition "is on the point of breaking out, and we inſiſt that "they who brand us with puſilanimity, may only aſſiſt "us in making the levies. Since you adviſe violent "meaſures, we ſhall act with all the ſpirit the keeneſt "of you would deſire." With theſe words, they returned to their tribunal, and called upon one of the moſt factious, whom they had in their view, to come and be inrolled. As the man ſtood ſtill, without returning an anſwer, and a croud got about him, to protect him, in caſe of need, the conſuls ſent a lictor to ſeize him. The lictor being repulſed, ſuch of the ſenators as were preſent with the conſuls, exclaiming againſt the indignity, came down from the tribunal to ſupport the lictor. But the mob, who had only prevented the officer from ſeizing the man, now turned upon the ſenators. The conſuls interpoſed, and the tumult was appeaſed. Neither ſtones nor darts were employed; the affair paſſed with more noiſe and angry words, than any real miſchief.

The ſenate aſſembled tumultuouſly, and went upon the buſineſs ſtill more ſo. Thoſe who had been perſonally inſulted, demanding an inquiry, and the moſt violent members declaring themſelves more by their noiſe and clamour, than by giving their opinions. At length, their paſſion ſubſided; and the conſuls having remarked, to their reproach, that the ſame ungovernable ſpirit that prevailed in the forum, had now taken poſſeſſion of the ſenate-houſe, they began their deliberations with more compoſure.

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There were three different opinions prevailed in the ſenate. P. Virginius was not for a general act of grace; and gave his opinion, "That thoſe only, who upon the "promiſe of the conſul Servilius, had carried arms "againſt the Volſci, Arunci, and Sabines, were en- "titled to a diſcharge."

Titus Largius repreſented, "That this was not the "time to weigh and balance ſervices with preciſion;— "that the whole body of the people were drowned in "debt, and it was impoſſible to ſtop the evil, but by a "general releaſe. For to make a diſtinction among the "debtors, would only inflame, not extinguiſh the flame "of diſcord." Appius Claudius, who was naturally violent, and rendered ſtill more ſo, in the preſent emergency, by the hatred of the people on the one ſide, and the exceſſive praiſes of the ſenators on the other, cried out, "That it was not miſery, but licentiouſneſs that "was the ſource of theſe riots.—That the behaviour "of the populace, was the effect of wantonneſs and not "of fury. The ſource of all theſe diſorders lay in their "right to appeal, which diveſted the conſuls of every "power but that of threatening, ſince a delinquent "could appeal from their judgment, to that of their "own peers and co-operators." "Come," continued he, "let us create a dictator, from whom there lies no "appeal, and this flame, which ſpreads with ſuch vio- "lence, will, in an inſtant, come to nothing. Let them "dare to inſult an officer then, when they ſee the power "of life and death in the hands of that perſon, whoſe "authority they had the aſſurance to inſult."

CHAP. XXX. *Manius Valerius choſen Dictator.*

THE opinion of Appius, ſeemed to many, as it really was, extremely harſh and ſevere. On the other hand, the propoſitions by Virginius and Largius, would be dangerous precedents, eſpecially that of Largius, which would give a fatal blow to all credit and commerce. It was admitted, that the opinion of Virginius, which by a judicious medium, corrected Largius's exceſs, was the moſt moderate and eligible. But the

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intrigues of parties, and the view of private intereſt, which ever did, and ever will obſtruct public deliberations, turned the ſcale in favour of Appius's opinion, who was within a little of being declared dictator himſelf, which would entirely have exaſperated and alienated the people at this dangerous conjuncture, when the Volſci, Æqui, and Sabines, were all in arms together.

But the conſuls and the older ſenators took care, that an authority, in itſelf imperious and abſolute, ſhould be conferred upon one of a mild and moderate diſpoſition. So the election fell upon Manius Valerius, the ſon of Voleſus. The people ſaw well enough, that it was againſt them, a dictator was created; yet, having got the right of appeal, by a law preferred by his brother, they ſuſpected nothing oppreſſive or tyrannical from that family.

An edict of the dictators, much of the ſame nature with that publiſhed by the conſul Servilius, confirmed them afterwards in theſe hopes. Wherefore, in confidence of the dictator's name, and the ſovereign power of his office, they gave in their names without oppoſition. Ten legions were raiſed; an army ſuperior to any levied before. Each of the conſuls commanded three, and the dictator four. They were obliged to take the field immediately; for the Æqui had entered the territory of Latium with a hoſtile army, and the Latins, by their deputies, inſiſted that the ſenate ſhould relieve them, or permit them to arm in their own defence. It ſeemed more eligible to ſend an army for their protection, than by putting arms in their hands, to allow them to defend themſelves. Vetuſius the conſul, was therefore ſent to their aſſiſtance, which put an end to the inroads of the Æqui, and obliged them to retire from the Champaign country, as their dependance was not on the ſtrength of their arms, but the advantage of the ground, they ſecured themſelves, by keeping on the tops of the mountains.

The other conſul marched againſt the Volſci, and ſcorning to ſpend time in laying waſte their country; he challenged them to move their camp nearer his, and to come to action at once. Both armies ſtood drawn up before their lines, in a plain between their camps. The

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Volſci had rather the advantage in numbers, which encouraged them to advance without order, as if they had deſpiſed the enemy. The Roman conſul did not advance, nor ſuffer the ſoldiers to return the enemy's ſhouts, but gave orders to ſtand ſtill, with their ſpears fixed in the ground, and when the enemy advanced near enough, to attack them ſword in hand.

The Volſci, already exhauſted with running and ſhouting, imagining the Romans were petrified with fear, began the attack accordingly: but finding themſelves vigorouſly received, and ſeeing the ſwords glittering in their eyes, they took to their heels in as great diſorder, as if they had fallen into an ambuſcade. But they had been already ſo much exhauſted with advancing to the field, that they had not ſtrength enough left to carry them out of it.

On the other hand, the Romans having had nothing to fatigue them in the beginning of the action, were freſh and vigorous; and quickly came up with the Volſci already exhauſted, took their camp by aſſault, drove out the enemy, and purſued them to Velitræ, which they entered pell-mell with them. By the promiſcuous ſlaughter of all ranks which enſued, there was greater effuſion of blood in this place, than in the action itſelf. A few were pardoned, who laid down their arms and gave themſelves up.

CHAP. XXXI. *Victory over the Sabines.*

DURING theſe tranſactions among the Volſci, the dictator was at blows with the Sabines, on which ſide lay the weight of the war. He defeated them, took their camp, and gained a complete victory. He had broke the main body of their army by charging with his horſe; and by drawing out the wings too far, their ranks were weakened in the center. In this confuſion the foot charged them warmly, and with a complete victory alſo forced their camp.

Since the action at the lake Regillus, there was not a more memorable battle than this. The dictator entered the city in triumph; and beſides other honours, a place

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of diſtinction, with a curule chair, was granted to him and his deſcendants, at the games of the circus.

The territory of Velitræ, was taken from the Volſci after their defeat, and a colony ſent from Rome for its cultivation. Soon after this, there was an engagement with the Æqui, much indeed againſt the inclination of the conſul, who eaſily ſaw the difficulty attending an attack, when the enemy was ſo advantageouſly poſted; but the ſoldiers complained that the war was protracted on purpoſe; that the time of the dictator's authority might expire, before they ſhould return to Rome, which would render his promiſes as vain and ineffectual as Servilius's had been; and ſo forced him raſhly to march his army up the hill. However imprudent this ſtep, the enemy's want of ſpirit crowned it with ſucceſs: for before the Romans were come within reach of their darts, the Æqui ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at their reſolution, abandoned their camp, which by its ſituation was almoſt impregnable, and ran down into the vallies over againſt them.—Here the Romans found much booty and victory without loſs of blood.

After all theſe gallant actions, and three different wars ſucceſsfully ended, the ſenate and people began to be equally ſolicitous about the event of their domeſtic diſputes. The uſurers had not been idle all the while, but had their meaſures ſo concerted, that by their intereſt and artful management, they not only fruſtrated the expectations, but the good intentions of the dictator alſo.

Valerius, immediately after the return of the conſul Vetuſius, previous to every other conſideration, made a motion in favour of the victorious commons, and prepared a bill for the relief of inſolvent debtors. When his motion was rejected; "I plainly perceive, ſaid he, "that I am by no means agreeable to you, becauſe I "am for peace in the boſom of the republic. By Her-"cules, the period is not diſtant, when you will wiſh "that the Roman people had patrons of the ſame prin-"ciples. But, as to what regards me, expect not that "I will deceive my fellow-citizens, or continue dictator "in vain. A foreign war, and domeſtic feuds were the "republic's motives for honouring me with the dictator-"ſhip. We have now peace abroad, and I am prevent-

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" ed from eſtabliſhing it at home. I had much rather " behold the ſedition as a private perſon, than with the " title of dictator."

Then leaving the ſenate abruptly, he reſigned the dictatorſhip. The matter appeared to the commons in its genuine point of view, that he had laid down his office from a generous reſentment of their injuries. Wherefore, as he had nobly exerted himſelf in their favour, they conducted him home with loud ſhouts and acclamations, as if he had fulfilled every obligation he had come under.

CHAP. XXXII. *A Seceſſion.*

THE Fathers were now in the utmoſt terror, leſt the army ſhould be diſbanded, and their private cabalLing and plotting be reſumed; for this reaſon, tho' the levies had been made by the dictator, ſince they had taken the oath to the conſuls, they thought they were ſtill bound to obey them; and under pretence that the Æqui were again in arms, ordered them to be marched into the field: An immediate ſedition was the conſequence. The ſoldiers at firſt had propoſed, it is ſaid, to put the conſuls to death, by that means to evade their military oath; but being told that no religious engagement could be diſſolved by a crime, by the advice of one Sicinius, without any orders from the conſuls, they withdrew to the ſacred mountain, on the other ſide of the Anio, three miles from Rome.

This account meets with more credit than that of Piſo, who makes it the Aventine hill. Here they fortified their camp with a moat and rampart, continued quiet for ſeveral days, though ſubject to no leader, neither gave provocation nor received it; and took nothing but what their ſubſiſtence barely required.

The city was now in the utmoſt conſternation; and both parties being mutually afraid of each other, could come to no reſolution that was deciſive. The commons, who had been left in the city by their party, dreaded the exaſperated fathers, who, on the other hand, uncertain of their ſentiments as to ſtaying or going, were equally afraid of them. It was a common queſtion,

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How long will the Seceders remain quiet? What would be the conſequence, were any foreign war to break out in the mean time? They were now ſenſible, that there were no other means of ſaving the ſtate, but by re-uniting it; and that for this reaſon, the people muſt be reconciled and made their friends at any rate.

Wherefore they agreed to ſend Menenius Agrippa, an excellent ſpeaker, and very acceptable to the commons, being deſcended of a Plebeian family, as deputy to the Seceders. Being admitted into the camp, he is ſaid to have repeated the following fable, in the rough and unpoliſhed manner of the times, without any other argument. "Upon an occaſion, ſays he, when "the members of the human body were not on the ſame "friendly footing as at preſent, and each member had "a council and language peculiar to itſelf, the other "parts of the body were in no ſmall paſſion, that they "ſhould all ſweat, toil, and labour for the belly, whilſt "it enjoyed the pleaſures provided for it in idleneſs "and at eaſe. In conſequence of all this, they conſpired "that the hands ſhould no longer carry food to the "mouth, that the mouth ſhould not receive it, nor the "teeth grind it. Whilſt they were thus furiouſly intent "upon reducing the belly by famine; all the members "ſeparately, and the body in a lump, became lean and "languid to an extreme. Hence it appeared, that the "belly was not ſo idle as had been imagined, and that "if it was nouriſhed by the other members, it contri-"buted no leſs to their ſupport in its turn, in commu-"nicating by the digeſtion of food, to the ſeveral parts "of the body, that blood, by which their life and "ſtrength ſubſiſted, and in circulating it in due quanti-"ties through all the veins." He compared this inteſtine ſedition of the parts of the human body to the diſcord that then divided the ſenate and people; and the application as it was very natural, had a wonderful influence upon their minds.

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CHAP. XXXII.

Tribunes of the People created. The Volſci routed, and Corioli taken.

IT was then they entered upon terms of reconciliation; and among other conceſſions, the people were allowed to have magiſtrates of their own, whoſe perſons were to be ſacred, and whoſe office was to protect them againſt the power of the conſuls. Nor could any of the Patrician order be elected into that office. Thus were two tribunes of the people created in the perſons of Caius Licinius, and L. Albinus, and they choſe three colleagues for themſelves. Sicinius, the ring-leader of the mutiny, is ſaid to have been one of them, but about the other two, hiſtorians are not agreed. According to ſome authors, only two tribunes were created on the ſacred mountain, and that the law, whereby their perſons were made ſacred, was enacted there.

During the ſeceſſion, Sp. Caſſius and Poſthumus Cominius entered in office as conſuls. In their conſulſhip, a treaty was concluded with the Latin nations. One of them remained at Rome, on purpoſe to ratify it, whilſt the other went to chaſtiſe the Volſci. The Volſci Antiates were routed and forced into Longula, which was taken by aſſault. Poluſca, another city belonging to the enemy, ſhared the ſame fate. Then the Romans laid cloſe ſiege to Corioli.

Among the troops that ſat down before Corioli, there was a young officer, a Patrician by birth, named Marcius, greatly eſteemed for his valour and prudence, and afterwards ſir-named Coriolanus. While the Romans were engaged in the ſiege of Corioli, and their attention wholly taken up with the operations of the beſieged within the walls, and apprehending no danger from without, the Volſcian legions marching from Antium, fell ſuddenly upon them, at the ſame time that the beſieged made a vigorous ſally from the town. Marcius happened to be then on guard, and puting himſelf at the head of a ſelect corps, he not only repulſed thoſe who had ſallied from the town, but ruſhing furiouſly in

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at a gate they had opened, and having filled the part of the city that lay next to him with blood and ſlaughter, he haſtily ſnatched up ſome fire, and threw it againſt the houſes that overlooked the wall.

The cries of the towns-men, and the ſhrieks of the women and children, when they ſaw the flames breaking out, gave the Romans new ſpirits and damped the enemy, who found the city was taken, they had come to relieve. Thus were the Volſci routed, and Corioli taken at the ſame time.

The glory acquired by Marcius in this war, ſo far eclipſed the reputation of the conſul, that if the treaty made with the Latins, by Sp. Caſſius alone, whilſt his colleague was abſent, and engraven on a pillar of braſs, had not handed down to poſterity, that Poſthumus Cominius commanded in the expedition againſt the Volſci, his concern there would have been totally forgot.

This year, the republic loſt Menenius Agrippa, a man, who through the whole courſe of his life, had been dear to both ſenate and people, but ſtill more ſo to the people after their ſeceſſion, although he had the honour to be mediator and umpire in the diſpute between the orders, although he was choſen delegate from the fathers to the people, and although he had influence to reunite the people to the ſenate, he died ſo poor, that all his eſtate was not ſufficient to defray the expence of his funeral. That charge was defrayed by the people, who aſſeſſed themſelves for that purpoſe, each in the value of the ſixth part of an aſs *.

CHAP. XXXIV. *A Famine.*

TITUS Geganius and Publius Minutius, were elected conſuls for the following year: under whom, though there was no enemy ſtiring abroad, and every difference ſettled at home; the ſtate was afflicted by a calamity more grievous than either. During the ſeceſſion, there was a total ſuſpenſion of agriculture, which brought on a dearth of proviſions, and that was followed by a famine, as ſevere as if the city had been

* The one-eighth part of a farthing.

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beſieged. It would undoubtedly have ended in the deſtruction of both ſlaves and people, had not the conſuls provided for their relief, by diſpatching agents through all the countries around, to buy up corn, not only into Etruria, all along the ſhore to the right of Oſtia, and through the country of the Volſci on the left, as far as Cumæ, but even to Sicily; ſuch was the ill-will of their neighbours, that they were obliged to apply for relief to theſe remote countries.

When they had purchaſed ſome corn at Cumæ, Ariſtodemus the tyrant, detained the ſhips, by way of repriſal, for the effects of the Tarquins, who had made him their heir. They could make no purchaſes among the Volſci, and in the country of Pomptinus, the victualers were in hazard of being inſulted by the inhabitants. However, Tuſcany furniſhed them with a ſmall quantity by the Tiber, which relieved the common people for the preſent.

A dangerous war, would have doubled the diſtreſs occaſioned by the famine, had not a plague raging among the Volſci, cut ſhort their intentions, when they were juſt on the point of beginning hoſtilities. This calamity, however, ſunk them ſo low, that even when its violence had ſubſided, they had not got the better of their fright.

The Romans increaſed their colony at Velitræ, and ſent a new one into the mountains of Norba, which might ſerve for a fort in Pomptinus.

In the conſulſhip of Marcus Minucius and A. Sempronius, corn was imported, in conſiderable quantities, from Sicily, and there was a debate in the ſenate about the price at which it ſhould be retailed. Many were of opinion that they had now a fair opportunity of humbling the commons, and recovering theſe rights, which by their ſeceſſion and violence, they had extorted from the ſenate. Marcius Coriolanus, who was a declared enemy of the Tribunitian power, inſiſted, "That "if they would have proviſions on the old footing, it "were but juſt they reſtored the ſenate its antient rights. "Shall I, if reduced to a ſtate of ſlavery, and ranſom-"ed from robbers, tamely behold theſe Plebeian ma-"giſtrates? Why do I ſee a Sicinius over my head?

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"And must I bear these indignities longer than there "is any necessity? Must I, to whom the pride of a king "Tarquin was intolerable, put up with the insolence "of Sicinius? Let him secede now with the people at "his back, to the sacred mount, or any other hill, the "way lies open. Let them seize upon our corn in the "fields, as they did three years ago. Let them enjoy "now the fruits of their revolt. I can venture to affirm, "that this calamity has conveyed to them such salutary instruction, that they would rather chuse to apply "themselves to agriculture, than to arms, by means of "a new secession, to interrupt it." It is hard to say, whether his plan ought to have been adopted, though it seems pretty evident, that the senate, by reducing the price of provisions, might have rid themselves of the Tribunitian power, and all the other popular laws that had been imposed on them.

CHAP. XXXV.

Coriolanus condemned;—retires among the Volsci.

THIS speech was even considered by the senate as too severe; and it so exasperated the commons, that they were on the point of taking up arms. "We "are now," they cried, "to be attacked with famine, "like enemies; we are to be deprived of every means of "subsistence. The foreign corn, the only resource that "fortune offered us, and so unexpectedly too, is to be "snatched from our mouths, unless we give up our "Tribunes tied hand and foot to Coriolanus,—unless he "be allowed to wreck his vengeance on the commons "of Rome. Death, or slavery, is the only choice this "new executioner has left us."

The mob would have fallen upon him as he left the house, had not the tribunes very seasonably appointed him a day to take his trial.

Here their rage subsided, because every one saw himself, the judge, and the disposer of the life or death of his adversary. Marcius at first, heard the threats of the tribunes with contempt, affirming, That their office was instituted for protection, not punishment, and that they

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were the tribunes of the commons, not of the fathers. But ſo outrageous were the people, that the fathers were glad to purchaſe their peace at the expence of one of their order. They did all, however, in their power, to ſtem the torrent of public odium, and ſtrained every nerve, each in his private, as well as public capacity, to ſave him. The firſt expedient they put in practice, was to diſpoſe his clients ſo judiciouſly as to deter the people, one by one, from frequenting their meetings and cabals. Then all the ſenate went in proceſſion, as if the whole body had been impeached, and with the moſt preſſing inſtances, begged the people, that if they would not acquit Marcius, for the ſake of his innocence, they would, at their interceſſion, ſpare one citizen, one ſenator, even ſhould he be found guilty.

He did not appear on the day of his trial, which inflamed them ſtill the more. He was, therefore, condemned in his abſence; in conſequence of which, he retired amongſt the Volſci, even then breathing nothing but revenge, and carrying with him every hoſtile intention againſt his country. The Volſci received him with every mark of reſpect, and their civilities daily increaſed, in proportion as his reſentment againſt his country was more ſtrongly marked; for bitter complaints, ſucceeded by terrible threats, were often obſerved to drop from him.

He lived with Attius Tullius, at that time, the moſt reſpectable nobleman of all the Volſci, and one who had always been an enemy to the Romans. As the one was actuated by a hatred of an old ſtanding, and the other impelled by freſh reſentment, they conferred together about making war upon Rome. They eaſily ſaw, that there would be ſome difficulty in engaging the Volſci to take up arms, which they had done ſo often to their own ruin. Their ſpirits were broke by being ſo often engaged in war; and moreover, their youth had ſuffered exceedingly by the late plague. Length of time, had almoſt extinguiſhed the hatred between the two nations, for which reaſon, they judged that it would require ſome addreſs to rekindle the flame, by means of ſome freſh indignity.

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CHAP. XXXVI. *A ſtrange Phænomenon.*

VERY opportunely for their purpoſe, preparations were going on at Rome, for renewing the great games, upon the following account. In the morning of the day, in which they had been repreſented, the maſter of a ſlave had obliged him to carry a croſs, and whipt him ſeverely through the middle of the Circus; notwithſtanding of which, the exhibition went on, as if there had been nothing ominous in the matter. After ſome time had elapſed, Jupiter appeared in a dream to T. Atinius, a Plebeian, and told him, "That he was not "ſatisfied with the perſon who led up the dance in the "laſt games; and unleſs they were renewed with mag-"nificence, the ſtate would repent it.—Go, ſays he, "and tell theſe things to your conſuls."

The man, although he was not without a ſenſe of religion, yet he was ſo aſhamed to approach men of that dignified character, with a ſtory that might expoſe him to ridicule, that his modeſty prevailed over his fear. This heſitation coſt him dear. In a few days, his ſon droped down dead. That he might be at no loſs to find out the cauſe of this ſudden diſaſter, whilſt he was mourning for his loſs, the ſame viſion appeared to him again in his ſleep, and ſeemed to aſk him repeatedly, "If he had not been ſufficiently puniſhed for his con-"tempt of the gods; but if he did not inſtantly go and "tell the conſuls, ſomething ſtill more dreadful would "befal him."

Now he felt the impreſſion more forcibly. But ſtill heſitating and putting it off, he was ſtruck with a palſy, all over his body. It was then that the wrath of the gods rouſed him from his lethargy; for, afflicted by his former calamities, and oppreſſed with the weight of his preſent trouble, he called a meeting of his neareſt friends, and telling them all he had heard and ſeen, how Jupiter had often appeared to him in a dream;—how he had been threatened, and the calamities in conſequence, which the gods had inflicted on him; by the unanimous advice of all preſent, he was conveyed to the conſuls in a litter, into the forum. By their order, he was tranſ-

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ported from thence into the ſenate-houſe; and when he had made the ſame relation there, another extraordinary circumſtance happened, to the ſurpriſe of every body; the man who was carried thither, without the uſe of a ſingle member, returned, as the ſtory goes, upon his own legs.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Tullus's plan for ſpiriting up the Volſci againſt Rome.

THE ſenate decreed, that the games ſhould be celebrated with all poſſible magnificence. At the deſire of Attius Tullus, vaſt numbers of the Volſcian youth repaired to Rome to ſee them. Before the exhibition, Tullus waited on the conſuls, as had been concerted at home with Marcius, and tells them he had ſomething of importance to communicate that concerned the ſtate. Having retired where they could not be overheard, he told them, "It is with the utmoſt reluctancy, "that I am to mention any circumſtance, that may "ſeem to reflect the leaſt diſhonour on my countrymen: "but I come not to accuſe them of any thing they have "already done, but to put you on your guard, with "reſpect to what they may do. The diſpoſition of my "countrymen is by far more fluctuating and reſtleſs, "than I could wiſh. This we have felt to our coſt, "ſince we owe our exiſtence, as a nation, at preſent, "more to your good nature, than our own good be-"haviour. There are in the city at this moment, vaſt "numbers of the Volſci. The ſcene of exhibition will "ſoon open, and the attention of the citizens will be "engroſſed by it. I remember what happened on a "ſimilar occaſion, by means of the Sabine youth, with-"in this city, and I tremble leſt our people ſhould take "ſome raſh and inconſiderate ſtep, which I thought it "my duty, to lay before you, O conſuls, both on your "account and ours. For my own part, I am reſolved "to go home immediately, leſt by remaining on the "ſpot, my feelings ſhould be hurt, in what I might "hear or ſee."

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With theſe words he took his leave. The conſuls immediately lay this equivocal hint, the manner in which, and the perſon, by whom it was communicated before the ſenate, who, more out of regard to the author's credit, than any ſuſpicion of danger, were induced to take ſome ſteps, by way of precaution, which might as well have been ſpared. Wherefore, by a decree of the ſenate, the Volſci were ordered to evacuate the city, and the public criers were diſpatched to publiſh this order all over the city, that the Volſci might all be gone before night. Whilſt they ran hither and thither to their quarters to fetch their things, they were in a terrible panic; but on their return home, their indignation roſe to a prodigious pitch, when they began to reflect, that like infamous ſcoundrels, or perſons tainted with ſome infectious diſeaſe, they had been driven from ſeeing the games, upon the day of the exhibition, as unworthy to aſſociate with gods or men.

CHAP. XXXVIII. *Reſentment of the Volſci.*

THEY returned from Rome, in almoſt one continued body; and Tullus, who had gone before them, as far as the head of the ſpring of Ferentinum, accoſting the foremoſt of them as they came up, aſked them many queſtions, and expreſſed his diſpleaſure at the indignity that had been offered them. Fond of any thing that encouraged their reſentment, they gave great attention to what he ſaid, and followed him to a plain below the road, where the whole multitude were perſuaded to join them. There, as if he had been haranguing them in an aſſembly, he ſpoke to the following effect: "Should you, gentlemen, reſolve to bury in o-"blivion, the injuries done you by the Romans in for-"mer times, and the loſſes you have ſuffered; in ſhort, "though you ſhould forget all former wrongs, is it "poſſible that you can tamely bear the inſult offered "you to-day by the Romans, who have made our diſ-"grace the prelude to their games? Are you not ſen-"ſible of the triumph they have this day over you? "What! in the face of all the citizens,—all the ſtran-"gers,—all the neighbouring ſtates, to make ſuch an

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" ignominious departure? Were not your wives and " your children publicly affronted? What were the sen- " timents of those who heard the proclamation? What " were the sentiments of those who saw you leaving the " city? Or, what were the sentiments of those who met " you on the way loaded with ignominy? Why? that " we are a set of impious and profane wretches, whose " presence would have polluted the solemnity of the " games, and that we were returning to make expiation! " This therefore is the reason, we are driven from the " habitation, the company, and communication of ho- " nest men. What! are you not sensible that our very " lives depended on our speedy departure? If it does " not rather deserve the name of a flight. Do you not " consider the Romans as your enemies, among whom, " one day's delay, would have been our last? War is " declared against you in this affront, to the perdition " of those who have done it, if you are but men." Full of resentment before of themselves, and exasperated still more with this discourse of Tullus, each returned to his own home, and inflamed their countrymen to that degree, that the whole nation revolted.

CHAP. XXXIX.

The Romans dreadfully alarmed, sue to Coriolanus for peace.

BY the unanimous consent of all the states, Attius Tullus, and the Roman exile, C. Marcius, in whom they had an extraordinary confidence, were chosen generals to conduct the war. Nor did he ever disappoint them; that it might be evident from his conduct, that the Romans owed more to the abilities of their generals, in their superiority over their neighbours, than to the bravery of their troops. Having marched to Circei, he first drove the Roman colony from thence, and delivered to the Volsci the city which he had freed from the Roman yoke. Then crossing the country by marches and counter-marches, he made himself master of the towns lying on each side of the Latin road, as Satricum, Longula, Polusca, and Corioli, which had been lately conquered by the Romans. After this he retook Lavini-

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um, Corbio, Vitellia, Trebia, Labici, and Pedum. From Pedum he led his army towards Rome, and encamped at the Cluilian ditch, five miles from it. From whence he detached pillaging parties to plunder the Roman lands; having ſent out guides, however, with the parties, to ſave the lands of the Patricians, either becauſe his reſentment was chiefly pointed at the commons, or that he might widen the breach between the ſenate and them: which certainly would have been the caſe, ſo unwearied were the tribunes, in inflaming the people, already ſufficiently irritated, by bringing accuſations againſt the firſt men of the ſtate, had they not been united by the fear of enemies from without, the greateſt bond of harmony within, however jealous of, and incenſed againſt each other.

In one point, they differed however; the conſuls had all their confidence placed in arms, and the commons preferred any terms to the chance of war. Spurius Nautius and Sex. Furius, were at that time conſuls. Whilſt they were muſtering the legions, placing guards upon the walls and other poſts, where they thought them neceſſary, they were alarmed with a turbulent noiſe of a multitude bawling out for peace. Then they obliged them to convene the ſenate, and lay before them the expediency of ſending deputies to C. Marcius. The ſenate agreed to the motion, after they obſerved the diſpondency of the people.

Deputies were accordingly ſent, who brought back this haughty anſwer: "If the lands they had taken "from the Volſci were firſt reſtored to them, they "might then talk of peace; but if they choſe to ſit at "their eaſe, and live upon the ſpoils of former wars, "that he, who was neither inſenſible of the injuries "done him at Rome, nor the civilities ſhown him by "the Volſci, would endeavour to make them ſenſible, "that baniſhment, far from depreſſing, had only exalted his courage." The ſame Gentlemen were ſent back to him; but they were not admitted to his camp. We find alſo, that the prieſts, dreſſed in their robes of ceremony, went to wait upon him at the camp, humbly ſuing for peace; but they ſucceeded no better than the deputies had done.

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CHAP. XL.

Rome relieved by the interceſſion of Veturia.

THEN the Ladies, in vaſt crowds, waited on Veturia, Coriolanus's mother, and Volumnia his wife; whether by advice of the ſenate, or inſtigated by their own fears, is not ſaid: But they certainly prevailed with Veturia, a very old lady, and Volumnia, carrying her two ſons, by Marcius, with her, to walk in the enemy's camp, and try if the tears and prayers of the women would defend the city, ſince the men were no longer able to do it by arms. When they had reached the camp, and word carried to Coriolanus, that a great train of ladies had come to wait upon him: as neither the majeſty of a public deputation, nor the reſpect due to religion and the prieſthood, had been capable of moving him, he thought he would be proof againſt the tears of a troop of women. But when he was told by one of his acquaintances, who had diſtinguiſhed Veturia among the reſt, by her diſconſolate look, ſtanding between her daughter-in-law and her grand-children, "If my eyes "do not deceive me, your mother, wife, and children "are here." Coriolanus threw himſelf from his tribunal, almoſt out of his ſenſes, and run full of anguiſh to embrace his mother: "Stay," ſays ſhe, aſſuming an air and tone of reſentment, inſtead of intreaties, "let me know before I "receive your embraces, whether I ſpeak to a ſon or an "enemy; and whether I am conſidered as your mother, "or your captive? Was it for this purpoſe that my mi"ſerable old age was reſerved? Have I lived ſo long, "only firſt to ſee you baniſhed, and then the enemy of "your country? Have you been capable of ravaging "the land that gave you birth, and brought you up in "its boſom? How violent ſoever your reſentment and "thirſt for revenge, did not the ſight of theſe plains "diſarm your rage? And when you came within ſight "of Rome, did you not then think within yourſelf, "thoſe walls which I am about to attack, contain all "that is dear to me in the world,—my houſe,—my "houſhold gods,—my mother,—my wife,—my children!

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"Alas! had I not been a mother, Rome would not "have been besieged. Had I not had a son, I should "have died free, in a free country. But I can suffer "nothing now that is not more shameful for you, than "miserable for me; nor can my misery, however great "at present, be of long continuance. Let these infants "be your care, who, if you persist, must either suffer "an untimely death, or a long servitude."

His wife and children then saluted him. The tears and lamentations of all the Roman ladies, for their own account and that of their country, at length softened Coriolanus. He embraced his relations, and dismissed them: soon after he decamped, and marched his army back from the city.—According to some accounts, the Volsci were so exasperated at his withdrawing the legions from the Roman territory, that they put him to death. Others give a different account of the matter. Fabius, by far the most antient author extant, affirms, that he lived to a great old age; and mentions a saying of his in the decline of life, "That banishment was in "all cases insupportable, but especially to an old man."

The men were not jealous of the encomiums bestowed upon the women: for such was their disinterestedness, that none endeavoured to detract from the glory of another. To preserve the remembrance of so singular an event by a public monument, they built and dedicated a temple to Female Fortune. The Volsci once more in conjunction with the Æqui, returned into the Roman territory; but the Æqui refused to fight under the command of Attius Tullus. This contest, about the nomination of a general, who should command both armies, was productive at first of a quarrel, which ended in a bloody battle. There the fortune of the Roman people dispatched two formidable armies, in a battle no less fatal to the combatants, than it was obstinate.

The consuls for the ensuing year, were T. Sicinius and C. Aquillius. The province of the Volsci fell to Sicinius; and the Hernici, who were also in motion, fell to Aquillius. The Hernici were this year defeated; and with the Volsci, the Romans had a drawn battle.

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CHAP. XLI.

Caſſius condemned for affecting Popularity.

THEN Spurius Caſſius, and Proculus Virginius, were made conſuls: a treaty was concluded with the Hernici, by which they ceded two thirds of their lands, one of which, the conſul intended to divide among the Latins, and the other among the commons. To this act of generoſity, he added ſome ground unjuſtly held by private perſons, to the prejudice of the public. Many of the fathers, who were themſelves poſſeſſors of theſe lands, were alarmed at this proceeding, thinking their property was in danger. And the ſenate was under no leſs concern for the public ſafety, being apprehenſive that the conſul by his liberality, aimed at a power which would be dangerous to their liberty. It was then that the Agrarian law was firſt mentioned, which, from that day to this, whenever it came to be the ſubject of debate, never failed to raiſe great commotions in the ſtate.

The other conſul oppoſed the diviſion, and was ſupported by the ſenate and ſome of the people. At firſt they had begun to conſider it as no great compliment, when their allies were to ſhare equally with them; and then they liſtened with great attention to Virginius, when he often propheſied in their aſſemblies, "That his colleague's liberality had a moſt pernicious tendency: "That whoever ſhould be tempted with theſe lands, "would find, that they were given them in exchange "for their liberty: That the very intention of them, "was to pave the way for regal power; which was "pretty evident from the ſcheme of diviſion, in which "the allies and Latin nations, are admitted to a ſhare "of the ſpoil. For what purpoſe was a third part of "the conquered lands reſtored to the Hernici, who but "lately had appeared in arms againſt them, but that "theſe nations might have Caſſius at their head, inſtead of Coriolanus?"

Both the promoter and the oppoſer of the Agrarian law, had each his party among the people, to whom

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both conſuls were emulous, who ſhould be moſt obliging. Virginius declared, he ſhould have no objection to the diviſion propoſed, were it confined to Roman citizens only. Caſſius's credit ſunk greatly with the people, for the keenneſs he ſhowed in geting the allies included in the Agrarian law; wherefore, to recover their good graces by another act of generoſity, he ordered the people to be reimburſed in the money they had paid for the corn imported from Sicily; but the people rejected it with indignation, conſidering it in no other light, than as bounty-money to enliſt them to ſerve under the enſigns of tyranny. Nay, ſuch was their averſion at monarchy, that they ſpurned at his preſents, as if they had ſwimed in plenty.

It is certain, that the moment he was out of office, he was condemned and ſuffered accordingly. Some make his father the author of his puniſhment, who having tried him at home, ſcourged and put him to death; conſecrating, at the ſame time, all his effects to Ceres, and applying the proceeds to the erection of a ſtatue to that goddeſs, with this inſcription, "PRESENTED BY "THE CASSIAN FAMILY."

I find in ſome authors, what ſeems moſt probable, that a day was aſſigned him, by Kæſo Fabius and Lucius Valerius the queſtors *, to anſwer to an impeachment for treaſon, when he was condemned by a ſentence of the people, and his houſe demoliſhed by public authority. It ſtood where we have now the area before the temple of Tellus. By whomſoever he was ſentenced, whether by his father, or the people, it is univerſally admitted, that he ſuffered in the conſulſhip of Ser. Cornelius, and Q. Fabius.

* The buſineſs of theſe magiſtrates, was to take care of the finances and the public treaſure, for which they were anſwerable, at the expiry of their office, which gave them a right to appear as proſecutors, againſt ſuch as attempted to miſapply the public property.

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CHAP. XLII.

Domeſtic broils. The Æqui and Volſci defeated.

BUT the reſentment of the people did not long ſurvive Caſſius. The charms of the Agrarian law, the promoter of which, they themſelves had cut off, recurred to their minds with double force. What added to theſe impreſſions, was the rapacity of the fathers, who, after the defeat of the Volſci and Æqui that year, defrauded the plunder; for all the perquiſites ariſing from the war, were converted into money by the conſul Fabius, and lodged in the exchequer. The whole Fabian family became odious to the people, on account of the laſt conſul: The fathers, however, prevailed ſo far, that Kæſo Fabius ſucceeded to the conſulate, with L. Æmilius. The people ſtill more enraged by this election, raiſed a foreign war with their ſeditious behaviour at home. This war gave a ſhort reſpite to their civil commotions; and the ſenate and people uniting, under the conduct of Æmilius, gave a fatal blow to the Æqui and Volſci, who had renewed the war. The enemy ſuffered more in their flight, than they did in the battle; ſo warmly did the horſe purſue them.

The temple of Caſtor, was dedicated upon the 13th day of July of that year *. It had been vowed, during the war with the Latins, by Poſthumius the dictator, whoſe ſon was created duumvir on purpoſe for its dedication. That year too, the alluring impreſſions of the Agrarian law were revived in the minds of the populace. The tribunes of the people, by their exertions in favour of this popular law, ſtrove to enoble their popular office. The fathers, ſenſible that there was too much fire in the ſpirit of the commons, even when they had no inducement to ſhow it, trembled at the thoughts of largeſſes, as incitements to raſhneſs. The conſuls, at the head of the ſenate, ſhowed themſelves extremely keen in the oppoſition; and prevailed not only for the preſent, but had alſo the addreſs to get M. Fabius, the brother of Kæſo, and Lucius Valerius, ſtill more odious to the

* Anno Romæ, 269.

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people, for his impeachment of Sp. Caſſius, to be conſuls for the enſuing year.

During their conſulate, the bickerings with the tribunes did not ceaſe; but the law was thrown aſide, and its patrons expoſed to ridicule, for boaſting of good offices, they had no power to confer. At this time, the Fabian family was in high repute, owing to their noble and ſteady exertions in oppoſition to the tribunes, in the courſe of three ſucceſſive conſulſhips. Wherefore, the conſular dignity was continued in that family for ſome time, where it had been ſo judiciouſly placed.

After this, the Vejentes commenced hoſtilities, and the Volſci alſo take the field. Rome, however, was more than a match for all her foreign enemies, had her ſtrength not been exhauſted in domeſtic wranglings. Moreover, whilſt the minds of all ranks were thus afflicted, they were alarmed with celeſtial prodigies, portending, almoſt every day ſome ſignal calamity to town and country. And the ſoothſayers, when conſulted in a private, as well as public capacity, ſometimes by the intrails, at others by the flight of birds, could give no other reaſon why the gods were diſpleaſed, but that the ſacrifices had not been performed with the proper ceremonies. Their fears had this effect, that the veſtal Opia being convicted of incontinence, was condemned, and ſuffered the uſual puniſhment.

CHAP. XLIII. *Great generalſhip of Fabius.*

THEN Q. Fabius and Caius Julius, were made conſuls. During this year, the civil commotions were as violent as ever, and the war with the neighbouring ſtates ſpread farther than before. For now the Æqui were in arms, and the Vejentes were ravaging the Roman territories. Theſe wars growing ſtill more ſerious, Kæſo Fabius and Sp. Furius, are choſen conſuls.

The Æqui had laid ſiege to Ortona, a Latin city, when the Vejentes loaded with plunder, threatened to lay ſiege to Rome itſelf. Such terrors ſhould no doubt have cemented the jarring parties at home, but they only ſerved to render the people more inſolent and intractable. They were now put upon the old ſcheme, of

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refuſing to inliſt. Sp. Licinius, a tribune of the people, thinking that now was the critical moment, when the ſtate was in the utmoſt difficulty, to cram the Agrarian law down the throats of the fathers, had ſet himſelf to obſtruct the levies. But the whole load of envy, to which the college of tribunes was expoſed, fell upon the author of this project. For the conſuls were not keener in diſappointing his deſign, than his own colleagues, who, to a man, were in concert againſt him; and, by their aſſiſtance, the conſuls got the levies completed.

Againſt the two hoſtile powers, two armies were raiſed at the ſame time; the command of the one was given to Fabius, to be led againſt the Æqui, and of the other to Furius, to march againſt the Vejentes. With the Vejentes, nothing remarkable occurred; and Fabius had more trouble in managing his army, than in defeating the enemy. This man alone, ſupported the commonwealth, while the army, from their hatred to him as conſul, did all in their power to land it in perdition. For, after the conſul, in his preparations for, and management of the war, had given, in every inſtance, the moſt ſignal proofs of his abilities, as a general, he drew up his army with ſuch judgment, that by means of the horſe alone, he put the enemy to flight; and yet, when nothing was left for the foot, but to purſue the flying enemy, they abſolutely refuſed it. Nor could ſhame for their criminal conduct, their preſent diſgrace in the face of the ſun, their future danger, had the enemy recovered ſpirit, to ſay nothing of the intreaties of a general whom they hated, prevail on them to move one foot faſter, nor even to march in good order. But they retired without orders, and went back to the camp, with looks ſo expreſſive of their dejection, that one would have imagined they had been heartily drubed. Sometimes curſing their general, and ſometimes the horſe, for their gallant exertions. The general gave himſelf no trouble about finding out an antidote for ſo dangerous a precedent; ſo true it is, that great men, who excel in other reſpects, more frequently want addreſs to govern their citizens, than talents to conquer enemies. The conſul returned to Rome, leſs diſtinguiſhed for his military glory, than the inveterate and unrelenting hatred

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of the soldiers against him. The fathers, however, had influence enough, to continue the consulship in the Fabian family, for they elected M. Fabius consul, and gave him C. Manlius for his colleague.

CHAP. XLIV.

Claudius's plan for defeating the Tribunes.

ONE of the tribunes brought the Agrarian law on the carpet again this year. It was Tib. Pontificius, who going to work the same way with Sp. Licinius, obstructed the levies for a little. Whilst the fathers were once more disconcerted with this opposition, Appius Claudius told them; "That they had baffled the efforts "of tribunitian power the year before; that at present "they might do it, by employing that power against "itself, an expedient that would never fail of success, "seeing they had found, by experience, that it could be "cut down by its own force. That one of the number "might always be found, who, proud of defeating his "colleagues, and gaining the esteem of the better part "of the citizens, would be disposed to promote the "good of the public. And no doubt, several of these, "were it necessary, would be found ready to assist the "consuls, but one was sufficient against the whole body. "That therefore the best conduct of the consuls and "principal senators would be only to exert themselves "to bring over some one of these tribunes, and attach "him to the interest of the senate and commonwealth, "if their influence did not extend to the whole."

The fathers, pursuant to Appius's advice, treated the tribunes in the most kind and obliging manner; and those who had been consuls, and had private claims against any of them, partly by their interest and partly by their authority, prevailed on them to consent to make the privileges of the tribunitian power beneficial to the state. Wherefore, having four to one on their side, the consuls were enabled to complete the levies. Upon this they marched against the Vejentes, who were supported by auxiliaries from all parts of Etruria, flocking to them, not so much from any prepossession in their favour,

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as they were impreſſed with a notion, that the Roman ſtate would be brought to perdition by its inteſtine broils.

In a general convention of all the ſtates of Etruria, the leading men were conſtantly bawling out; "That "of the power of the Romans, there would be no end, "were they not by their ſeditions to turn their fury "againſt one another.—That this was the only poiſon, "the only blot found in ſtates, by which the moſt "powerful were expoſed to ruin.—That this evil, the "bad effects whereof, had been lately ſuſpended, partly "by the wiſdom of the ſenate, and partly by the peo-"ple's patience, was at length come to ſuch an exceſs, "that Rome might be ſaid to form two cities, of which "each had its own laws and magiſtrates.—That though "at firſt they ſhowed themſelves refractory in giving in "their names to be enliſted, yet in the field they obeyed "their officers, and whatever diviſions were in the city, "while their military diſcipline could be maintained, "their animoſities could be quelled; but now the re-"bellion had paſſed from the city into the camp.—That "in the laſt war, when drawn up in order of battle, "and in heat of action, the Roman ſoldiery had volun-"tarily reſigned the victory to the Æqui, after it was "obtained, having quitted their ſtandards, abandoned "their general in time of action, and returned without "his orders into their camp.—That it was an undoubted "truth, that with proper exertions, Rome might be "reduced by its own forces.—That it was only neceſſary "to make a declaration and ſhew of war, and that fate "and the gods would do all the reſt." Rouſed by theſe hopes, the Etrurians armed; and, by a variety of fortune, during the courſe of the war, were often defeated, and often victorious in their turn.

CHAP. XLV.

War with the Vejentes and Etrurians.—Eagerneſs of the Roman army.

THE Roman conſuls too, dreaded nothing ſo much as their own forces,—their own arms: The re-

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troſpect to their ſcandalous behaviour laſt war was terrible; eſpecially when they conſidered that they might be in the ſame predicament, to have the terror of two armies upon them at the ſame time. Wherefore, to avoid a danger which threatened them within, as well as without, they kept within their camp, hoping that time, and a little delay, would ſoften their reſentment againſt the ſenate, and bring them to reaſon. This prompted the confederates to act with ſtill greater aſſurance. They challenged them to turn out. They rode up before the camp and inſulted them. At laſt when they found neither the conſuls, nor the army, in the leaſt affected by their rodomontade, they cried out, "That they only "pretended to have differences among themſelves, to "ſerve for a cloak to their cowardiſe; and that it was "not the fidelity, but the courage of the ſoldiers, which "the conſuls ſuſpected.—That ſilence and quietneſs "among men in arms was a ſpecies of ſedition never "heard of before."

Beſides theſe reproaches, they upbraided them with the obſcurity of their origin and novelty of their families; in ſome reſpects true, and others not. Theſe invectives thrown out under their noſes, at the foot of the rampart and gates of the camp, gave the conſuls no concern, but ſtung the ſoldiers, unaccuſtomed to ſuch language with ſhame and indignation, at the ſame time that their domeſtic quarrels were quite forgot. That the enemy ſhould paſs unpuniſhed, they could by no means ſubſcribe to; but then they could not bear that the fathers, or conſuls, ſhould have the glory of a victory. Thus were they agitated between two violent repulſes of mind, with reſpect to their foreign and domeſtic enemies. At length their indignation againſt the former prevailed, unable to bear their outrageous inſults any longer: They came in crouds to the conſuls tents, inſiſting that they ſhould be led on to battle, and the ſignal given. The conſuls ſeemed to confer together about the part they ſhould act, and drew out their conference to a great length. They wiſhed for nothing more than to engage; but it was neceſſary to conceal it, in order to quicken the reſentment of the ſoldiers, by a ſeeming delay and oppoſition. They therefore returned for anſwer, that their

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demand was unſeaſonable; it was not yet time to fight, ſo that they muſt keep within their camp. Then a proclamation was made, prohibiting them to engage, under the ſevere penalty of being treated as an enemy.

Diſmiſſed thus, the backwardneſs the conſuls ſhowed to fighting, only ſerved to increaſe their ardour; moreover, when the enemy got intelligence, that the conſuls had reſolved not to riſk a battle, they repeated their inſults with more inſolence than ever, being now aſſured they might do it with impunity, as the ſoldiers would not be truſted with arms: This at laſt would terminate in a mutiny, and that in the diſſolution of the Roman empire. Stimulated with theſe reflexions, they advanced haughtily to the works, branded them with a thouſand opprobrious names, and were within a little of ſtorming the camp.

The ſoldiers could no longer ſuffer an abuſe ſo offenſive, but run from all quarters of the camp to the conſuls, not formally as before, by the principal of the centurions, but almoſt all in a body, with loud cries, demanding to be led on to battle. The time was now come, but they were ſtill put off; at laſt Fabius, finding his colleague giving way, leſt the tumult ſhould end in a revolt, after the trumpet had ſounded to ſilence, addreſſed him thus: "That theſe fellows can conquer, "I am perfectly aſſured; but whether they will,—that "is the queſtion. Therefore, with me it is a decided "and determined point, never to give the ſignal for "battle, till they firſt ſwear, that they will return "victorious. They once deceived a Roman conſul, "but the gods they will not deceive." Among the foremoſt of thoſe who were urgent for battle, was M. Flavoleius, a centurion. "I ſhall return, Marcus "Fabius," ſays he, "from the field victorious. If I "deceive you, may father Jupiter, Mars Gradivus, and "the other incenſed deities, daſh me to pieces." The reſt of the army followed his example, each ſwearing to the ſame purpoſe.

Having thus ſworn, the ſignal is given, they fly to their arms, and big with reſentment as well as hopes, they march out to battle. They tell them now to deal

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about their invectives, and challenge those who had been so ready with their tongues, to show what they can do with their swords. All that day, the fathers and commons signalized themselves with prodigious acts of valour; but of all others, the Fabian name and family distinguished themselves most, determined in that battle, to recover the affections of the commons, which they had lost in their disputes at home. The army is drawn up: nor were the Vejentes and Etrurians backward to engage.

CHAP. XLVI. *A battle. Q. Fabius killed.*

WITH the enemy it amounted almost to a certainty, that they would be no more in earnest in fighting against them, than they were against the Æqui: nor did they doubt, but something still more gross would ensue, when their minds were in such a ferment, and at a juncture so very critical. But they were dreadfully disappointed; for in no former action, did the Romans engage with greater spirit, so much had they been exasperated by the enemy's insults, and the consuls delays. The Etrurians had scarcely time to draw up, when the Romans, in the first hurry having thrown their javelins at random, rather than with any aim, rushed in with their swords, which of all other weapons make the bloodiest work.

Among the Patricians, the Fabian family distinguished themselves by their extraordinary gallantry, and set a noble example to their fellow-citizens. Quintus Fabius, who had been consul three years before, was the first who rushed among the thickest of the Vejentes; but being exposed to enemies on every side, a Tuscan, full of his strength and skill in arms, run him through the breast with his sword, when he was not aware of him. Fabius, having extracted the blade, and falling forwards, expired of the wound. Both armies were sensible of the difference made by the fall of this single officer; and the Romans had begun to give ground, when M. Fabius the consul, skipping over the dead body, and covering it with his shield, cried out, "Was it to this purpose, "you swore, gentlemen, that you would fly back, with

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" the enemy at your heels, to the camp? Are you so " much more afraid of these your most dastardly enemies, " than of Jupiter and Mars, by whom you have sworn? " I, who have not yet sworn, shall either return victo- " rious, or fall here, with my sword in my hand, near " thee, O Quintus Fabius."

Then Cæso Fabius, who had been his predecessor in office, steps up to the consul, and asks him, " Is it with " these words, brother, that you think to succeed with " soldiers? No. The gods, by whom they have sworn, " will give them resolution. As for us, for the credit " of the rank we bear, and the honour of the Fabian " name, let us animate our fellow-soldiers, more by the " gallantry of our actions, than the force of our argu- " ments." With these words, the two Fabii flew with their lances, to the foremost ranks, and drew the whole battalion after them.

CHAP. XLVII.

Defeat of the Vejentes, &c. Manlius killed. Fabius becomes popular.

THE battle being thus restored in one wing, the consul C. Manlius, with no less gallantry begun the action in the other, where fortune almost took the same turn. For, as in the other, the soldiers nobly supported Q. Fabius, so in this, they kept close by Manlius, driving the enemy before him, as if they had been totally routed, but receiving a dangerous wound, he retired from the field, and thinking he was killed, drew back; and they would have retreated, had not the other consul galloping up with some squadrons of horse, cried aloud, that his colleague was alive, and that he himself having routed the other wing of the enemy, was come to their assistance, and by that means, recovered the fortune of the day. Manlius too, to reanimate his troops, placed himself again at their head.

The sight of the two consuls, gave the Romans new courage. The enemy's ranks, were at this time, considerably thinned; for trusting to the superiority of numbers, they had detached the corps-de-reserve, to storm

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the Roman camp. There, meeting with little reſiſtance, they carried it at the firſt aſſault: but whilſt they were more intent upon plunder than fighting, the Triarii *, who could not ſuſtain the firſt charge, got time to ſend advice to the conſuls of what paſſed in the camp, and putting themſelves in a body, returned to the general's tent, and of themſelves renewed the engagement. The conſul Manlius too, poſted back to the camp, planted guards at every gate, and left the enemy not an opening to retire through. Deſpair threw them in a fit of rage, rather than inſpired them with courage. For, when they had often attempted to force their way, without ſucceſs, a body of youth attacked the conſul, whom they knew by the ſplendour of his arms. The firſt volley of darts was received by the ſoldiers who ſupported him; but the fury of the aſſailants at laſt prevailed, for the conſul having received a mortal wound, fell from his horſe, when all his party were routed.

This inſpired the Etrurians with freſh courage, and ſpread univerſal terror throughout the Roman camp, and it would have ended in the total loſs of the day, had not the lieutenants carried off the body of the conſul, and opened one of the gates of the camp, for a paſſage to the enemy. Through it they ruſhed out with the utmoſt precipitation; and by the way, fell in with the other conſul, who had been victorious, and by his party, were almoſt all cut to pieces. Thus a glorious victory was obtained, but the joy was damped by the loſs of two of their braveſt officers.

Wherefore, the conſul, after the ſenate had decreed him the honour of a triumph, declined it, with this apology, "That if the army could go through the ce-"remony of a triumph, without a general, their gene-"rous exertions in the war, entitled them to that ho-"nour, and he would ſubſcribe to it with pleaſure; "but for his own part, whilſt his family were in mourn-"ing for the loſs of his brother, Q. Fabius, and the "republic, for the loſs of one of its parents, he could

* So called from their poſition, being marſhalled in the third rank, as the ſtrength and hopes of their party. They were commonly veterans of experience and known valour.

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"not think of accepting the laurel, defaced with public, "as well as private grief."

The refusal of a triumph, did him more honour, than any triumph could have done; so true it is, that a proper neglect of glory, sometimes considerably exalts it. His first care, was to pay the last honours to his brother and his colleague: he pronounced their funeral orations himself, and set the glorious actions of both in the fullest light; by which means, the generous praises he bestowed, reflected in a very great degree upon himself. Agreeable to a plan he laid down to himself, in the beginning of his consulship, of bringing about a reconciliation between the senate and people, he distributed the wounded soldiers among the houses of the senators to be cured, and most into those of the Fabii, and they were dress no where else with so much care. From that date, the Fabii became popular, but by methods intirely consistent with, and salutary to the commonwealth.

CHAP. XLVIII. *Proposal of the Fabian family.*

IN consequence of this agreeable reverse, Cæso Fabius is chosen consul, with T. Virginius, as much by the goodwill of the populace, as the interest of the senate; and made a point of it, before he entered upon levies, wars, or any other public business, that the hopes of concord, which begun already to be conceived, should be nourished so as the senate and people might quickly come to a perfect understanding. For this purpose, in the beginning of the new year, he made a motion, that before any tribune should have it in his power to revive the question about the Agrarian law, the senate should, in its own right, begin the division of the land taken from the enemy among the people, with all the impartiality in their power. For nothing was more just than that these people should have it, by whose blood and toil it had been purchased. The fathers would not agree to the motion; nay, some of them complained, that the spirit of Cæso Fabius, which formerly appeared great in every manly exertion, through an excess of glory, was now enervated and effeminate.

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After this, in the city, party prejudice continued dormant. The Latins were, however, harraſſed by the inroads of the Æqui. Cæſo was diſpatched with an army to chaſtiſe them, and entered their country to make repriſals. Upon this, the Æqui retired into their towns, and kept themſelves within their walls, for which reaſon, no remarkable action happened. By the raſhneſs of the other conſul, the Roman army ſuffered ſeverely, in an action with the Vejentes, and but for the ſeaſonable intervention of Cæſo, had been all cut to pieces.

From this time, with the Vejentes, there was neither ſolid peace, nor open war. Their views ſeemed to extend to rapine and plunder only. Upon the approach of the Roman legions, they fled into their capitol; and the moment they diſappeared, they renewed their incurſions upon the Roman territories, evading a general engagement, by appearing to be at peace, and all terms of accommodation, by repeated acts of hoſtility: ſo that this war could neither be droped, nor finally diſcuſſed.

There were other nations too, as the Æqui and Volſci, who never continued longer quiet, than till they had forgot their laſt loſs, were on the point of declaring war; nor was it improbable that the Sabines, the conſtant enemies of Rome, and all Etruria, would quickly arm againſt them. But the Vejentes, who were rather a conſtant, than a formidable enemy, gave them more trouble by their frequent inroads, than apprehenſion of danger, which at no time, could be ſo far overlooked, as to permit their attention to be directed to any other quarter.

Upon this, the Fabian family made a propoſal to the ſenate, by the mouth of the conſul, in name of the reſt, to the following effect. "Conſcript fathers, to oppoſe "the enterpriſes of the Vejentes, as you well know, re"quires rather an aſſiduous, than a powerful party. "Do ye take care of the other wars, and leave us of the "Fabian family to manage the Vejentes. We undertake "to be the guardians of the majeſty of the Roman "name, in that quarter. This war, we will carry on "at our private expence, as if our family were only "concerned in it, ſo that the ſtate may be at no charge "in men, or money, upon that ſcore." The offer was

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accepted with great acknowledgements; and the conſul left the houſe, and retired home, accompanied by a number of his clan, who ſtood waiting in the porch, till they ſhould know the reſolution of the ſenate. They were ordered to rendezvous the next day in arms, at the conſul's gate, and each of them departed to his own houſe accordingly.

CHAP. XLIX.

The Fabii leave the city to keep the Vejentes in awe, who ſue for peace.

THE news immediately ſpread over the whole city. Every body admired, every body extolled the Fabii to the ſkies. That one ſingle family ſhould take upon them the burden of the ſtate; that the war with the Vejentes, ſhould be carried on at the expence, and by the arms of private perſons, was an act of generoſity never heard of before. Were there two more ſuch families in Rome, the one might take upon them the war againſt the Volſci, and the other againſt the Æqui, whilſt the commonwealth would remain quiet, and all the neighbouring nations be added to its domain.

The next day, the Fabii appeared all accoutred as they had been ordered. When the conſul came out in his military dreſs, he ſaw his whole clan drawn up in the court before his houſe, and being received in the middle of them, commanded them to march. Never did an army, ſo few in number, and ſo highly diſtinguiſhed with the praiſes and admiration of all, march through the city. Three hundred and ſix heroes, all Patricians, all of the ſame family, of whom, not one, but might be judged worthy of commanding an army, left the city, threatening deſtruction to Veii, by means of their intrinſic power alone. They were followed by a croud of their friends and clients, animated with the ſame ſpirit and zeal, and actuated only by great and noble views.

Others excited, by public concern, and tranſported with eſteem and admiration, cried out, "Go, brave "men, may fortune be with you;—may your ſucceſs

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" be adequate to the generosity of your undertaking. " Then may you look for consulships,—triumphs,—all " the rewards, all the honours, it is in the power of " your country to bestow." Passing by the capitol, citadel, and other temples, every body implored all the gods that occured to their eyes, or imagination, to favour their departure and undertaking, and to grant them a speedy and happy return to their country and parents. But these prayers were not heard.

Marching out by an unlucky way, through the right arch of the gate Carmentalis, they arrived at the river Cremera, where they judged it would be proper to raise works and leave a garrison for their defence. Lucius Æmilius and C. Servilius, were at that time chosen consuls.

Whilst nothing was studied on either side, but plundering and reprisals, the Fabii found themselves sufficient to protect the Roman territory; and by detaching flying parties through all the country, where the Tuscan territory borders upon that of Rome, protected their own frontiers, and became very troublesome to that of the enemy. But these devastations were cut short: For, to enable the enemy to carry the works at Cremera, they sent for an army out of Etruria. L. Æmilius the consul, in the mean time, coming up with the Roman legions, immediately attacked them. The Vejentes had no time for battle arrangement; insomuch, that in the first hurry and confusion, whilst they were drawing up in form, and posting a copse-de-reserve, a wing of the Roman cavalry, charged them so suddenly in flank, that they had neither room to form their lines, nor make an attack. They were consequently routed; and retreating to the Red Rocks, where they had their camp, humbly sued for peace. That they obtained, but from the natural levity of their tempers, before the Roman garrison was withdrawn from Cremera, they were quite of another mind.

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CHAP. L.

The Fabii fall in an ambuscade, and cut off.

ONCE more the Vejentes resumed their operations against the Fabii, without any new preparations; nor did they content themselves with ravaging the country, or making sudden incursions, but sometimes measured their swords in pitched battles, upon fair ground. This one Roman family, frequently carried off the victory from a people, who were, at that time, the most opulent of all the Etrurian nations. By this the Vejentes at first, thought themselves disgraced and highly affronted: and, in consequence, formed a design of laying ambuscades for their intrepid enemy; and rejoiced to find, that the forwardness of the Fabii, increased with their repeated victories.

Wherefore, herds of cattle were frequently driven out in the way of foraging parties, as if they had lighted on them by chance; and by the flight of the peasants, vast tracts of lands seemed to be abandoned. Parties of soldiers were also sent out to chastise the ravagers, who retreated oftener through a pretended, than a real fear.

By this time, the Fabii held the enemy in such sovereign contempt, that they did not imagine, they could stand against their victorious arms, let the occasion, or ground be ever so advantageous. Elated with these hopes, and seeing some herds of cattle grazing in a plain, at a considerable distance from Cremera, although they were guarded by some small parties of the enemy, they run from the fort to carry them off. Thinking themselves secure, they had passed the ambush laid for them on both sides of the way, and had dispersed in pursuit of the cattle, straggling through the fields, which they always do upon an alarm; the enemy suddenly quiting their lurking places, appeared all at once, in front and in rear, and on every side.

At first they raised a terrible shout, and then poured in a volley of darts upon them from every quarter. The Etrurians came closer together, till the Fabii were totally surrounded, by one strong uniform body of armed men,

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and the more they were preſſed by the enemy, they were obliged to contract their own circle in proportion; which at once diſcovered their weakneſs, and the enemy's vaſt ſuperiority in point of numbers, when their ranks were crouded into ſo narrow a ſpace. Then giving over an attack, which they made with equal vigour on all ſides, they directed all their force to one point. Thither, drawing up in a wedge, by the weight of their bodies, and the points of their ſwords, they opened a paſſage for themſelves, that led by an eaſy aſcent to the ſide of a hill, where they firſt halted.

As ſoon as the advantage of the ground had given them leiſure to reſpire, and recover from the ſhock of ſo great a ſurpriſe, they beat back the aſſailants; and by the convenience of their poſt, ſmall as their party was, were getting the better of them, when the Vejentes, by fetching a compaſs, poſſeſſed themſelves of the top of the hill. Thus the enemy became again ſuperior. The Fabii were all killed to a man, and the fort taken. It is univerſally admitted, that three hundred and ſix fell there; and, that there only remained a youth of about fourteen years of age, as a ſtock to the Fabian family, which, in future times, was to be the prop and ſtay of the Roman people, both by their counſel and their ſword, upon the moſt trying occaſions.

CHAP. LI. *The Vejentes puniſhed.*

THIS diſaſter happened in the conſulſhip of C. Horatius and T. Menenius. The latter was immediately diſpatched to chaſtiſe the inſolence of the Etrurians, which their victory had created; but he was defeated, and the Janiculum taken. Moreover, as the city was in want of proviſions, and the Etrurians already on this ſide the Tiber, the city would certainly have undergone a ſiege, had not the conſul Horatius been recalled from the expedition againſt the Volſci. So cloſe to the walls of Rome was this war brought, that the firſt battle was fought at the temple of Hope, with no advantage on either ſide, and the ſecond at the gate there: although the Romans could boaſt of no great advantage, yet that engagement gave them new ſpirit,

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and encouraged them to behave better in every future action.

A. Virginius and Sp. Servilius, ſucceeded as conſuls; after the check the Vejentes received in the laſt engagement, they declined coming to another: But they plundered the country; and from the fort Janiculum, they made incurſions upon the Roman lands all around. Neither the farmers, nor their cattle, were any where ſafe. But they were at laſt taken in the ſame trap they had laid for the Fabii: For, purſuing ſome cattle, which had been ſent out on purpoſe to decoy them, they fell headlong into the ambuſcade; their numbers only ſerved to increaſe the ſlaughter. Their extravagant reſentment for this loſs, laid the foundation of a much greater: For, paſſing the Tiber in the night, they attempted to ſtorm the camp of Servilius the conſul. But there they met with ſo warm a reception, that after a prodigious ſlaughter, with great difficulty they got back to the Janiculum.

The conſul immediately croſſed the river, and fortified his camp at the foot of the hill. Early next morning, a little fluſhed with his ſucceſs the day before, or rather impelled by the want of proviſions, to take the ſhorteſt courſe, however dangerous, to procure them, he inconſiderately led his army up the hill to the enemy's camp, where he received a more ſhameful repulſe, than he had given the day before: But his colleague came up and ſaved both him and his army. Between the two armies, a dreadful havock was made among the Etrurians, as they were endeavouring to eſcape, firſt from the one, and then from the other. Thus by a fortunate imprudent ſtep, the war with the Vejentes got a finiſhing ſtroke.

CHAP. LII. *Trial of Menenius and Servilius.*

UPON the return of peace, proviſions became cheaper in the city; for they had corn from Campania: and there being now no apprehenſions of future ſcarcity, the citizens brought out what they had concealed and hoarded up. Peace and plenty ſoon produced diſſipation; and now when they had no diſtur-

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bance abroad, they began to revive their old contentions at home.

The tribunes set the populace in a ferment, by their favourite topic, the Agrarian law. They inflamed them against the senators in the opposition; and in this, they not only pointed at the whole body, but at individuals also. Q. Confidius and T. Genucius, who revived the plea of the Agrarian law at this time, cited T. Menenius to take his trial. He was charged with the loss of the garrison at Cremera, when his camp lay but a small distance from it. They condemned him, although the fathers had interested themselves, no less for him, than they had done for Coriolanus, and the popularity of his father Agrippa, not yet totally forgot. The tribunes restricted his punishment to a fine; for, though they had sentenced him to die, after his condemnation, they only fined him in two thousand asses of brass *. This cost him his life; for, it is said, that being unable to bear the disgrace, and the grief it occasioned, he soon fell a victim to a distemper, brought on him by it.

Another senator, Sp. Servilius, was also impeached, immediately on the expiry of his office, in the consulship of C. Nautius and Publius Valerius; the tribunes L. Cædicius and T. Statius, having, in the beginning of the year, appointed him a day for his trial. He did not, like Menenius, by himself, or the fathers, descend to make mean supplications to the people; but confiding in his own innocence and personal interest, he boldly opposed himself to all the attacks of the tribunes.

The charge against him, was the action with the Etrurians at the Janiculum. But, being a man of a daring spirit, he was as intrepid before their tribunal, as he used to be on a day of action, confuting in a bold speech, both tribunes and commons, upbraiding them with the condemnation and death of Menenius, by the good offices of whose father, the populace were brought back to the city, and enjoyed these laws and those magistrates, the ministers now of their illiberal prosecutions; and thus by his bold and determined behaviour, outbraved the danger. The testimony of his colleague Virginius too,

* Five pound Sterling.

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had its own weight, as he generouſly ſhared with him the honour of the ſucceſs: but what turned the ſcale entirely in his favour, was their ſhame for the ſentence they paſſed on Menenius, ſo much was their diſpoſition changed upon reflexion.

CHAP. LIII. *War with the Vejentes and Sabines.*

NO ſooner were their domeſtic troubles over, than a war broke out with the Vejentes, with whom the Sabines had joined in a confederacy. The conſul, Publius Valerius, having called in the Latins and Hernici as auxiliaries, was ſent againſt Veii with an army, and immediately opened the campaign by attacking the camp of the Sabines, which they had ſet down before the walls of their allies. This ſtruck them with ſuch conſternation, that whilſt they run different ways in broken companies to repel the aſſailants, the gate where the grand attack began, was carried by the Romans. Within the rampart, it was not a conteſt, but a maſſacre. The confuſion, from the camp, found its way to the city, and put the Vejentes in ſuch terror, that they run to their arms, as if their city had been taken. Some of them fly to the aſſiſtance of the Sabines, whilſt others fall upon the Romans with all their force, who were totally engaged in carrying the camp. They fell back a little in ſome confuſion; but recovering themſelves, faced about, and forming a double front, made head againſt both armies. The horſe too, by orders of the conſul, charging the Etrurians, broke and routed them entirely.

Thus were two armies defeated, and two of the moſt opulent and powerful of all the neighbouring ſtates, ſubdued in the ſame inſtant of time. During theſe operation at Veii, the Æqui and Volſci had encamped in the Latin territories, and were ravaging the country. Without a general, or any other aſſiſtance from Rome, the Latins, in conjunction with the Hernici, forced their camp, and poſſeſſed themſelves of a vaſt booty, beſides what had been taken from them. The conſul C. Nantius, was ſent from Rome againſt the Volſci, at the head of an army; becauſe, as I imagine, they did not chooſe

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it ſhould become a precedent for the allies to carry on war, upon their own footing only, without a Roman general at their head, and an army to ſupport them. The Volſci were harraſſed with all the calamities of war, and loaded with the moſt bitter reproaches; but neither could induce them to riſk an engagement.

CHAP. LIV.

A new check to the Tribunitian power.

L. Furius and C. Manlius ſucceeded to the conſulate. The Vejentes fell to Manlius as his province; but the war did not continue. At their requeſt a truce for forty years was granted them, on condition of paying a yearly tribute, and a certain quantity of corn.

Peace abroad only ſerved to revive their conteſts at home. Spirited up by the tribunes, the people raged about the Agrarian law. The conſuls neither intimidated by the fate of Menenius, nor the danger of Servilius, were equally keen in the oppoſition. As they were retiring from office, they were even impeached by Genucius the tribune.

In the conſulate, they were ſucceeded by L. Æmilius, and Opiter Virginius, though ſome authors mention Vopiſcus Julius inſtead of Virginius. But however that be, it is certain that Furius and Manlius were impeached that year, and went about in a miſerable plight ſupplicating the people, nor them only; for they were equally aſſiduous and importunate with the younger ſenators, adviſing them by all means, "From thence forth "to renounce the honours and government of the ſtate; "and look upon the faſces of the conſuls, the prætexta, "and curule chair, as neither leſs nor more than the "pomp of their funerals; and that they were only adorned with theſe enſigns of dignity, to be deſtined as "victims for the altar. That ſuppoſing the conſulſhip "had charms to attract their attention, they ought to "reflect, that it was now no more than a name, the "power of the tribunes having ſwallowed up and enervated its efficacy. That the conſul, like one of the

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" tribune's ſerjeants, could only act by their order, and " at their pleaſure. If they entertained the leaſt thoughts " of throwing off thoſe chains, of reſtoring the power " of the ſenate, or eſtabliſhing any other authority in " the Republic than that of the people, they ſhould ſet " before their eyes, the baniſhment of C. Marcius, and " the condemnation and death of Menenius.

The fathers, animated with ſpeeches to this purpoſe, no longer concerted meaſures publicly, but in ſecret; making very few privy to their deſigns. As there it was concluded, that right or wrong, the accuſed muſt be ſecured, the moſt violent meaſures were reliſhed moſt: and it was eaſy to find perſons ready for any undertaking.

Wherefore, upon the day of the trial, the people ſtood in anxious expectation in the forum, ſurprized that the tribune had not appeared; but at length when their patience was wearied out with waiting, their ſuſpicions were raiſed, that intimidated by the Patricians, he had deſerted and betrayed the public cauſe. At laſt, they who had remained at his door, brought word that he was found dead in his bed.

The news having ſpread among the people, they diſperſed on all ſides, trembling and terrified, like an army after the loſs of their general. But the tribunes were particularly affected, being inſtructed by the event, that even the laws which made their perſons ſacred, were not ſufficient for their protection. The ſenators, on this occaſion, took no care to moderate their joy; nay, they were ſo far from ſhewing any remorſe for the crime they had committed, that even thoſe who had no hand in it, were proud to be thought the perpetrators; declaring in every company, that nothing but an extraordinary blow, could ſubdue the power of the tribunes.

CHAP. LV.

The Senators exult on their victory, but meet with a check.

IMMEDIATELY upon this victory obtained by a moſt pernicious precedent, the levies were appointed, which, the tribunes having loſt all courage, the conſuls

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completed without any interruption. The people were more provoked at the silence of their tribunes, than the imperious behaviour of the consuls, crying out, "That "there was an end of all liberty now: That they were "fallen again into their antient state.—That the tribu- "nitian power had expired, and was laid in the grave "with Genutius.—That they must now fall upon other "measures, to oppose a barrier to the violence of the "senators.—That they had still one resource left, and "that was in themselves, since every other means of "protection had failed them.—That the consuls had "no other guard, but twenty-four lictors, and these "too plebeians: a weak and contemptible aid indeed, "if there were but men who knew how to despise them. "Such was the power which imagination only magni- "fies, and represents as terrible."

By such discourses, as they were spiriting up each other, a lictor was sent by the consuls, to one Volero Publius, a plebeian, who insisted, that he could not be compelled to serve as a single centinel, having formerly had the rank of centurion. Volero called to the tribunes; but none of them moving to protect him, the consuls ordered the lictors to strip and scourge him with rods. "I "appeal," says Volero, "to the people, since the tri- "bunes choose rather to see a Roman citizen scourged "before their eyes, than be strangled in their beds "by you."

The more vehemently he cried out, the more eager the lictor to tear and take off his clothes. But Volero, being robust of himself, and having got others to assist him, beat off the lictor, and got into the thickest of the croud, where he saw the greatest ferment and indignation raised on his account, crying out, "I appeal to the "people;—I implore their protection! stand by me "citizens! stand by me fellow soldiers! you have no- "thing to expect from your tribunes; alas! they have "occasion themselves for your aid."

The ferment spread among the people; they prepared as for a battle; and there seemed not a doubt, but matters would be carried to the most violent height, without regard to birth, age, or dignity.

The consuls attempted to dispel the storm; but they

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ſoon found, that the dignity of their office, was but a feeble ſupport without force. Their lictors being beat, and their faſces broke to pieces, they were driven out of the forum into the ſenate-houſe, uncertain how far Volero would carry his victory.

When the ſtorm had blown over, the conſuls ordered the ſenators to be ſummoned to the houſe, where they made loud complaints, of the bad treatment they had received from the people, and the intolerable inſolence of Volero. After many violent ſpeeches, the elder ſenators prevailed, who by no means approved, that the Patricians ſhould oppoſe paſſionate meaſures to the raſhneſs of the commons.

CHAP. LVI.

Great diſputes about the mode of electing Tribunes.

VOLERO, became a mighty favourite with the people, who, at the next election, created him tribune. L. Pinarius and P. Furius, were conſuls that year. Every body imagined, that by his means, the whole weight of the tribunitian power, would have fallen upon the conſuls of the preceding year; but forgeting his private reſentment, in order to promote the public intereſt, uſed not a ſingle expreſſion to their prejudice, and only preferred a bill, that the plebeian magiſtrates ſhould be choſen in the Comitia by tribes.

This, though at firſt it did not ſeem to affect the ſenate much, was a motion of no ſmall importance, as in that caſe, the Patricians could not chooſe whom they pleaſed for tribunes, by the votes of their clients. The fathers ſtrained every nerve in the oppoſition of a law, that was ſo acceptable to the commons; but neither the authority of the conſuls, nor the intereſt of the firſt Patricians, could prevail on any one of the college of tribunes to enter their diſſent, though that was the only valid obſtruction againſt it. The weight, however, and importance of the bill itſelf, created diſputes, which put it off for the courſe of the year.

Volero was choſen tribune a ſecond time; and the fathers imagining, that all their force would be exerted

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now, they chose Appius Claudius for consul, the son of that Appius, who by long family disputes, was an open enemy to the commons, and was equally hated by them. Titus Quinctius was given him for his colleague.

The first thing brought on the carpet, in the beginning of the year, was the law: and, as Volero, who first moved it, continued firm in its interest, his colleague Lætorius, being a later advocate for it, for that reason exerted himself more strenuously. He was a man of known valour; and the glory he had purchased in war, furnished him with resolution and assurance. Volero was not severe, in any of his discourses, against the consuls, but confined himself entirely to the law; but Lætorius insisted on the excessive pride, and cruelty of Appius and his family, to the people, affirming, that the senate, in him, had not created a consul, but a butcher, to cut the people's throats, and tear them to pieces. Bred in the camp, he had not words to express his sentiments adequate to the freedom which he took. Wherefore, being at a loss for expression, he cried out, "As I do not speak, with the same ease, as I act, Romans, come hither to-morrow, I will pass the law, "or die in your presence."

The tribunes placed themselves in the temple next day; and the consuls, with all the Patrician order, assembled to oppose the law. Lætorius ordered the forum to be cleared of all who had no right to vote; and as some of the young nobility refused to obey, he ordered some of them to be seized. The consul Appius, insisted, that the authority of a tribune extended only to the commons; for he was not a Patrician, but a Plebeian magistrate, and that he himself had no power to remove them by any former precedent, the form of addressing them, being, "Depart, Romans, if it be your pleasure."

It was easy to confound Lætorius, by talking fluently and contemptuously of the forms of court. Transported, however, with passion, sent his serjeant to the consul, who, in return, sent his lictor to the tribune, crying out, that he was only a private person, that he was no magistrate, and had no right to command; and, without doubt, the tribune would have suffered violence, had not the whole assembly, highly incensed at the be-

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haviour of Appius, taken part with their tribune againſt the conſul, great numbers of their body, upon the alarm flocking thither from all parts of the city. Appius, however, did not flinch, but ſtoutly ſtood the ſtorm, which would certainly have ended in blood, had not Quinctius, the other conſul, given it in charge to the ſenators of conſular dignity, to remove his colleague from the forum by force, if perſuaſion ſhould be ineffectual, whilſt he himſelf endeavoured to mollify the people by the warmeſt intreaties, and conjured the tribunes to diſmiſs the aſſembly, and give their paſſion time to ſubſide, "That "a few hours delay would not diminiſh their power, "but would add wiſdom to direct it: That the conſul "would be adviſed by the fathers, and the fathers "would comply with the people."

CHAP. LVII.

Peace reſtored by means of Quinctius. Obſtinacy of the army under Appius.

IT was with ſome difficulty, that Quinctius compoſed the people, but in bringing the other conſul to himſelf, the ſenate found ſtill more. At length when the aſſembly of the people was diſmiſſed, the ſenate was convened by the conſuls. Anger and fear dictating by turns, produced a variety of ſentiments; but the longer they deliberated, the more they ſaw the folly of continuing theſe conteſts; inſomuch, that Quinctius had the thanks of the houſe, for intereſting ſo ſeaſonably, to ſuſpend the dæmon of diſcord. On the other hand, they conjured Appius, "Not to carry his zeal for the dignity "of the conſulſhip, beyond what was conſiſtent with "the peace and harmony of the ſtate. That whilſt the "conſuls and tribunes were dragging every thing to "themſelves, the ſtate was left naked and impotent be"tween them, each ſide ſeeming leſs intent upon its "ſafety, than upon making themſelves its maſters."

On the other hand, Appius "called gods and men "to witneſs, that they abandoned and betrayed the "commonwealth, through mere puſilanimity.—That "the conſul was not wanting to the ſenate, but the ſe-

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"nate to the conſul. That they were going to accept "laws more pernicious, than thoſe of the Mons Sacer." He was prevailed upon at laſt, by the unanimous authority of the ſenate, to be ſilent, and the law accordingly paſſed, without contradiction.

CHAP. LVIII.

Claudius, being choſen Conſul, ſent againſt the Volſci.

THEN, for the firſt time, were the tribunes choſen in the Comitia by tribes. According to Piſo, three additional tribunes were added to the college, their number hitherto, having been only two. He alſo mentions their names, *viz.* C. Sicinius, L. Numitorius, M. Duilius, Sp. Icilius, and L. Mæcilius.

Encouraged by theſe diſturbances at Rome, the Volſci and Æqui, once more renewed the war. They had laid waſte the country, expecting, that in caſe of a ſeceſſion, the people would fly to them for refuge; but finding every thing was ſettled, they decamped, and led back their army.

Ap. Claudius was ſent againſt the Volſci, and Quinctius againſt the Æqui. Appius diſcovered the ſame wildneſs in his temper abroad, as he had done at home; and he acted with the greater liberty, as he was under no reſtraint from the tribunes. He hated the people ſtill more than his father had done.—They had triumphed over him. They had got a law paſſed during his conſulate, which his predeceſſors in office, from whom the ſenate had not ſuch high expectations, had the addreſs to get ſuſpended, although he had been elected for the ſole purpoſe of oppoſing it. This ſecret vexation that engroſſed and preyed upon him, ſet him upon tormenting his army by the greateſt ſeverity of diſcipline: but he was not able to break their obſtinacy, ſo much was their averſion ſteeled againſt him. In all things, they acted with ſlowneſs, indolence, careleſsneſs, and a ſpirit of contradiction. They were neither affected with ſhame, nor fear. If they were ordered to march with expedition, they moved ſlower on purpoſe. If he ſtood by to encourage the work, every thing ſlackened that inſtant.

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When he was preſent, all held down their heads, and as he paſſed them, they muttered curſes againſt him; his haughty ſoul, till now, proof againſt the popular odium, began to be ſometimes affected. Having ſpent all his ill-nature upon the ſoldiers to no purpoſe, he ſaid the army had been corrupted by the centurions, whom, in diriſion, he ſometimes called tribunes of the people, and ſometimes Voleros.

CHAP. LIX.

Appius decimates his army for cowardice.

THE Volſci had information of every thing that paſſed in the camp, for which reaſon, they preſſed the Romans more cloſely, expecting their army would behave to Appius, as they had done before to Cæſo Fabius. But their hatred to Appius, was much more inveterate than to Fabius: For, the army under Fabius, had only reſolved not to conquer, but they carried matters farther, and reſolved to be conquered. The moment they were led on to battle, they ſhamefully fled back to their camp, and did not ſtop till they ſaw the Volſcians ready to force their intrenchments, and making prodigious havock on their rear. Then it was, that they were obliged to fight, to drive the exulting enemy from their lines. But it was evident, they meant no more than to ſave the camp. To ſome of them, their defeat and diſgrace gave pleaſure.

Notwithſtanding all this, the ferocity of Appius's ſpirit continued inflexible; and being determined to chaſtiſe the whole army without mercy, he ſummoned an aſſembly. The lieutenant-generals and Tribunes, made haſte to wait on him, and cautioned him, not to make an unſeaſonable experiment of his authority, becauſe its whole force depended on the conſent of thoſe who obey; that in general, the ſoldiers refuſed to attend the aſſembly, and many of them inſiſted, that he ſhould decamp from the territories of the Volſci. That the victorious enemy, had a very little before, not only advanced to the gates of the camp, but made an attack upon their

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lines; and there was the greateſt reaſon to conclude, from many concurring circumſtances, too evident to be doubted, that ſome remarkable calamity was ready to fall upon them.

Compelled at laſt by neceſſity, he put off the aſſembly, which did nothing more to the army, than procure them a reprive from puniſhment: he gave orders for marching the next morning, and accordingly gave the ſignal, by ſound of trumpet, the moment light began to appear.

When the troops were drawn out of the camp, the Volſci, who had been put in motion by the Roman ſignal, fell upon their rear-guard. Terror and tumult ſpread like lightning, and reached the foremoſt ranks, ſo that neither the orders of the commanders could be heard, nor the troops be drawn up in order of battle. None thought of any thing, but how to eſcape, ſo that they fled in the greateſt diſorder over heaps of dead bodies and arms, nor did the Romans ceaſe to fly, even when the enemy gave over the purſuit.

At length, when the ſoldiers were drawn together, after this ſcattered rout, the conſul who had ſtuck cloſe by them, calling upon them in vain to do their duty, encamped where there was no danger of an attack, and ſummoned the aſſembly. He reproached them with great reaſon, for their perfidious cowardice and criminal treaſon, aſking the ſoldiers and enſigns, one by one, what had become of their arms and colours? The centurions and ſerjeants, who had quitted their ranks, he ſcourged and beheaded; and one out of every ten, to whoſe lot it fell, of the reſt of the army, was put to death.

CHAP. LX.

Quinctius more ſucceſsful and beloved. Volero's law paſſed.

THE conduct of the other army, ſent to chaſtiſe the Æqui, was very different. Between the conſul and the ſoldiers, there was a generous emulation in courteſy and acts of kindneſs. Quinctius was formed by nature to gentleneſs and mildneſs; and the fatal effects of his colleague's ferocity, gave him reaſon to congra-

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tulate himſelf on his own turn of mind. In conſequence of the good underſtanding that ſubſiſted between the general and the army, the Æqui were afraid to ſhew themſelves in the field, and ſuffered their country to be ravaged at pleaſure, whence it followed, that the booty was more conſiderable, than they had taken from the Æqui in any former war; and it was all given to the ſoldiers, and with it, the praiſes they merited, which gave them a pleaſure no leſs ſenſible, than more ſubſtantial rewards.

The army returned to Rome, with the warmeſt ſentiments of regard to their general, and on his account, in a great meaſure, to the whole order of the Patricians, telling every body, that the ſenate had, in their general, given them a father; but in Appius, to the other army, a cruel maſter.

In the courſe of this year, there was various ſucceſs in war, and violent commotions at home and abroad. It was peculiarly memorable for the election of the tribunes by tribes, a circumſtance which derived its importance, rather from the victory gained over a violent oppoſition, than any real advantage that attended it: for the Comitia ſuffered more in point of dignity, by excluding the fathers from that aſſembly, than the power acquired by the people, or loſt by the ſenate, was really worth.

CHAP. LXI. *Trial and death of Appius.*

L. Valerius and T. Æmilius, were conſuls the following year, when the commotions run higher than ever, both on account of the conteſts between the orders of the ſenate, occaſioned by the Agrarian law, and alſo on account of the trial of Appius, for which, M. Duilius and C. Sicinius, appointed a day, becauſe he oppoſed the law, and ſupported the pretenſions of the poſſeſſors of the public lands, with the ſame violent and inflexible ſpirit, as if he had been choſen conſul for the third time.

Never was a criminal cited before the people, more generally deteſted than he. To their tribunal he brought with him all the grievances charged againſt his father, as well as the crimes objected to himſelf; nor did the

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Patricians, in any former occaſion, intereſt themſelves more warmly to ſave any one of their order. They could not ſee, without extreme concern, the guardian of the ſenate, the avenger of their dignity, and the invincible bulwark of their rights, againſt the attacks of the tribunes and their abettors, given up to the rage of the populace, and that only, becauſe his paſſion had carried him a little beyond the bounds of moderation, in the heat of the diſpute.

Of all the ſenators, Appius, was the only one, that held the tribunes, the people, and the judgment they were about to paſs, in ſovereign contempt. Neither the threats of the commons, nor all the intreaties of the ſenate, could ever prevail on him, even to change his dreſs, or humble himſelf to ſolicit the favour of his judges: nay, nor in making his defence, to abate any thing of his uſual haughtineſs, or ſharpneſs of ſtile. In every thing, he retained the ſame externals, the ſame air of confidence, and the ſame blodneſs of ſpeech; ſo that the people, for the moſt part, were no leſs awed by him, when cited before them as a criminal, than they were before, when he was conſul. He pleaded his cauſe once, but then it was with his uſual tone, and the authority of an accuſer; and ſo much were the tribunes and the people aſtoniſhed at his reſolution, that unſolicited, they put off his trial to a future day, and thereafter were prevailed on to renew the prorogation. But, before that day arrived, he died of a diſtemper. The tribunes attempted to hinder the pronouncing his funeral oration; but the people would not conſent that ſo great a man ſhould be deprived of an honour ſo juſtly his due. They heard his praiſe after his death, with as much pleaſure, as they had his accuſation, when alive. Nay, many of them aſſiſted at his funeral.

CHAP. LXII.

The Country of the Æqui and Sabines plundered.

THIS ſame year, Valerius the conſul, led an army againſt the Æqui, and finding it impracticable to draw them to a battle, attempted to ſtorm their camp.

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A terrible tempeſt accompanied with thunder and hail, put a ſtop to his deſign. What increaſed their wonder, was the ſudden calm and ſerenity that enſued, the moment he ſounded the retreat: For they imagined, ſome deity had interpoſed to ſave the camp, and their religious ſcruples prevented them from making a ſecond attempt; wherefore, all their fury was diſcharged upon the country, which they plundered without oppoſition. The other conſul, Æmilius, conducted the war againſt the Sabines, who confined themſelves within their walls: for that reaſon, he laid waſte their country, burning not only the farm-houſes, but alſo large and populous villages. This forced the Sabines out of their ſtrong-holds, who, meeting with a foraging party, had an engagement with them; but victory declairng for neither party: when they retired from the field, they marched off, next day, to a place of greater ſecurity. This the conſul conſidered as a ſufficient victory in his favour; and upon their retreat, returned home, leaving the war unfiniſhed.

CHAP. LXIII. *War with the Volſci and Æqui.*

DURING theſe wars abroad, and civil commotions at home, T. Numicius Priſcus and A. Virginius, were choſen conſuls. The commons ſeemed now reſolved, to admit of no evaſions with reſpect to the Agrarian law, and were accordingly preparing to ſet every engine to work, when the flight of the country people, and the ſmoke of the houſes, all in flames, informed them, that the Volſci were at hand. This invaſion ſuppreſſed the ſedition, which was now ripe, and on the point of breaking out.

The ſenate obliged the conſuls to march immediately againſt the enemy; and when the youth had once quitted the city, the reſt of the people made no more noiſe. But the Volſci contented themſelves with the pleaſure of having put the Romans in a needleſs fright, and without attempting any thing further, made all the haſte they could out of their territories. Numicius purſued them to Antium, and Virginius marched againſt the

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Æqui. There the army fell into an ambuſh, and narrowly eſcaped being cut to pieces.

They were, however, reſcued from the danger, into which the conſul's careleſsneſs had led them, by their own noble exertions. The war with the Volſci was conducted with more addreſs; for, in the firſt battle they were routed, and driven to Antium, a very rich city. Numicius not daring to beſiege it, took Cenon, another city belonging to the Antiates, but not ſo opulent as Antium.

Whilſt the Romans were thus employed againſt the Æqui and Volſci, the Sabines entered their territories, and advanced to the very gates of the city plundering the country. They did not paſs unpuniſhed; for, in a few days after, both the conſuls, with their two armies, entering their country, and breathing nothing but vengeance, made large repriſals.

CHAP. LXIV.

War with the Volſci. Device of Quinctius.

ABOUT the end of the year, the city had ſome reſpite from war; but, as uſual, it was diſturbed by the conteſts between the Patricians and plebeians. The commons were ſo much incenſed, that they would not countenance the election of the conſuls; ſo that it was held by the Patricians and their vaſſals, who made choice of T. Quinctius and Q. Servilius.

The beginning of the year, was diſturbed by domeſtic factions, but theſe were ſtifled by the eruption of a foreign war. The Sabines having made a haſty march, through the territory of the Cruſtumini, ravaged all the country about the banks of the Anio, with fire and ſword; and, though they were repulſed, after they had penetrated almoſt to the walls of the city, and the gate Colina, yet they carried off a vaſt booty in men and cattle. But the conſul Servilius, purſued them with an army ſufficiently exaſperated; and when he could not get up with them, ſo as to bring them to an action on fair ground, he ſpread deſolation in their country wherever he went, inſomuch, that he ſuffered nothing to eſcape

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the calamities of war, and returned to Rome with prodigious ſpoils.

The good conduct of the general, and valour of the troops, were equally conſpicuous in the war with the Volſci.

They engaged firſt in a plain; the battle was bloody and the ſlaughter great on both ſides, which being more ſenſibly felt by the Romans, as they were leſs numerous, a defeat would have followed, had not the conſul, by a well-timed fiction, inſpired them with freſh courage, crying out, that the enemy was routed in the other wing. Wherefore, the army making a freſh attack, and believing themſelves victorious, became really ſo. The conſul, afraid to puſh his ſucceſs too far, leſt they ſhould rally, ſounded a retreat. For ſome days, both armies continued ſo quiet, that one would have imagined they had privately conſented to a truce.

During this reſpite, the army of the Volſci was conſiderably reinforced by numbers from their own country, and that of the Æqui, imagining, that the Romans, the moment they were adviſed of this acceſſion, would march off in the night: impreſſed with this opinion, they came before the third watch to ſtorm the camp. Quinctius having diſſipated the terror occaſioned by this ſudden alarm, gave orders, that all ſhould remain quiet in their tents, and led out of the camp, a body of the Hernici for an advanced guard; and to keep the enemy in a conſtant alarm till day-light, he ſet the trumpeters and blowers on the horn, on horſe-back, with orders to play, from time to time, before the rampart. For the reſt of the night, every thing was ſo quiet in the camp, that the Romans were ſufficiently refreſhed.

The appearance of a body of infantry in arms, whom the Volſci took for Romans, ſuperior in number to themſelves; the noiſe and neighing of the horſes, which, unaccuſtomed to this kind of riders, and frighted with the ſound of their inſtruments, were very intractable, kept the Volſci as much upon their guard, as if they had been every moment to be attacked by the enemy.

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CHAP. LXV.

The Volſci defeated, and their camp taken.

WHEN the light appeared, the Roman army, quite vigorous and refreſhed with ſleep, marched out to battle; and at the firſt charge, obliged the Volſci to give way, being already exhauſted with ſtanding under their arms, and watching all night. They were not, however, entirely routed, they only fell back to ſome ſteep places behind the centre, whether, without breaking their ranks, they retreated in ſafety.

The conſul, when the army had advanced to the riſing ground, gave orders to halt. Theſe orders were obeyed with the greateſt reluctancy, the ſoldiers crying out, and urgently requeſting, to be permitted to purſue the enemy already giving ground. The cavalry were particularly urgent, crouding round the general, expreſſed the greateſt ardour, declaring loudly, that they would go before the enſigns to the charge. While the conſul was ballancing between the ardour of his troops, and the diſadvantage of the ground, they all, by a general ſhout, expreſſed their reſolution of going on, and immediately began to march. To help them over the ſteep places, they fixed their javelins in the ground, and theſe ſurmounted, run towards the top of the hill.

Whilſt they were advancing, the enemy, having ſpent all their darts at the firſt attack, tumbled down the ſtones upon them, which lay ſcattered among their feet, of which they diſcharged ſuch numbers, that their ranks were broke, and they forced to fall back from the eminence they had gained. The left wing of the Romans, was ſo overpowered, that it was on the point of giving way, when the conſul reproaching them with their raſhneſs, and want of reſolution, made ſhame get the better of their fear. Upon this, then they renewed their exertions with the moſt determined ardour; and as they could gain a little ground, ſtill continued to advance, and ſetting up the other ſhout, encouraged the whole army, by repeating their efforts, they got over the difficulty of the place. They were now within a little of

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the top of the eminence, when the enemy took to their heels; and ſcattering in their flight, the purſuers and fugitives entered the camp much about the ſame time, when, in the midſt of the confuſion, the camp is taken. Such of the Volſci, as could make good their eſcape, fled to Antium, whether Quinctius followed with his army, and after it had been inveſted a few days, it ſurrendered previous to any aſſault, ſo much were they affected with their late defeat, and the loſs of their camp.

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TITUS LIVIUS's Roman Hiſtory.

BOOK III.

Containing the Diſputes between the Orders, foreign Wars, the Creation and Expulſion of Decemvirs, and the Re-eſtabliſhment of Conſular Government and Popular Magiſtrates, down to the year 306.

CHAP. I.

Conteſts about the Agrarian law. War with the Æqui.

AFTER the taking of Antium, T. Æmilius and Q. Fabius, were elected conſuls. This was that Fabius, who alone, of all the Fabian family, ſurvived the ſlaughter at Cremera. Æmilius, in his former conſulſhip, had declared for the partition of the lands among the people. Wherefore, in his ſecond conſulſhip, the friends of the Agrarian law, were encouraged to hope, that they might now get it paſſed; and the tribunes perſuaded, that by having one of the conſuls in their intereſt, they might now accompliſh, what they had in vain attempted, when both were in the oppoſition, brought the affair once more upon the carpet.

Æmilius had not ſhifted ſides. They who were in poſſeſſion of the lands, and the majority of the ſenators, complained much, that a chief magiſtrate of the city, ſhould be active in promoting the claims of the tribunes,

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making his court to the people at the expence of others, and turned the whole odium from the tribunes upon the conſul.

The conteſt would have been very warm, had not his colleague, Fabius, propoſed an expedient which ſeemed diſagreeable to neither party. That Titus Quinctius, who commanded the army againſt the Volſci laſt year, had taken from them ſome lands: That a colony might be ſent to Antium, a neighbouring and commodious city, ſituated on the ſea-coſt; by which means, the people might be provided in lands, without interferring with the poſſeſſions of others, or giving any diſturbance to the ſtate. This propoſal was received with applauſe; and T. Quinctius, A. Virginius, and P. Furius, were commiſſioned to ſettle the partition accordingly. The candidates were called to give in their names: But, as it generally happens, what can be eaſily attained, has no charms. Wherefore, ſo very few appeared to be enrolled, that to make up the compliment, they were obliged to admit the Volſci, the people chuſing rather to continue their clamours for lands at Rome, than be put in poſſeſſion of them elſewhere. Q. Fabius led an army againſt the Æqui; and, at their requeſt, granted them a peace; but it was of no long ſtanding, for they ſoon after made an irruption into the territories of Latium.

CHAP. II. *The Æqui defeated.*

THE next year, Q. Servilius, who had been elected conſul with Poſthumius, was ſent againſt the Æqui, and encamped in the country of the Latins. A diſtemper, which raged among the troops, confined them to the camp, ſo that the war was protracted till the third year, when Q. Fabius and T. Quinctius were conſuls. By an extraordinary commiſſion, the province of the Æqui, was aſſigned to Fabius, who had conquered, and, at their requeſt, granted them a peace. He ſet out accordingly, not doubting in the leaſt, but the very mention of his name, would bring them to ſubmiſſion, and accordingly ſent deputies to repreſent in their ſupreme council, "That they had it in commiſſion from

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"Q. Fabius, the conſul, to inform them, that he once "carried peace from the Æqui to Rome, and that from "Rome, he was now carrying war to the Æqui, the "ſame right-hand being armed againſt them, which "before he had given them in token of peace. By "whoſe perjury and perfidious conduct, this reverſe had "happened, the Gods were the witneſſes now, and ere "long would be the avengers. For his own part, how-"ever, without deſcending to particulars, he would "even at this moment, rather with they would, by a "voluntary ſubmiſſion, expreſs a conviction of their "error, than oblige him to ſubject them to all the ca-"lamities of war. Were they only to repent, they "ſhould be received into the protection of that clemen-"cy, they had formerly experienced: but, if they ex-"ulted in their perjury, they would do well to remem-"ber, they had the wrath of the Gods, rather than the "arms of an enemy, to contend with."

So far was this embaſſy from influencing the Æqui, that the deputies were in danger of being inſulted, and an army was ſent to the Algidus *, to oppoſe the progreſs of the Romans.

The moment advices of theſe tranſactions were tranſmitted to Rome, the other conſul left the city, rouſed rather by indignation, than any fear of danger. Thus two conſular armies approached the enemy, drawn up in form, determined to make an immediate attack. But as it happened, that the day was far ſpent, one of the enemy's advanced guard, cried out; "Romans, this is "not fighting, but an empty parade you draw up in "battalia, for the approach of night. More ſun will "be neceſſary to render the action before us deciſive. "To-morrow, the moment light appears, return to the "field, and you ſhall have enough of fighting, I will "be bound for it."

Stung with this reproachful commentary, the Roman ſoldiers were led back to the camp, to wait till next morning; and the hours of the night, ſeemed to paſs heavily on, which kept them from meaſuring ſwords with the enemy. They refreſhed themſelves with victuals

* A hill twelve miles from Rome.

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and ſleep, and next morning, as ſoon as it was light, the Roman army was drawn up, a little before the Æqui made their appearance, who, at length, advanced in battalia.

The battle was obſtinate on both ſides. Revenge and paſſion animated the Romans, whilſt the Æqui, conſcious of having involved themſelves in this difficulty, by their perfidy; and deſpairing of future credit, were ſtimulated to make the boldeſt efforts. They could not, however, ſtand the charge of the Roman army, but were defeated and obliged to retire into their own country. Notwithſtanding of this chaſtiſement, they were as little as ever inclined to peace, the licentious populace, upbraiding their leaders with riſking their cauſe to a pitched battle, in which the excellency of the Romans conſiſted. That the Æqui ſucceeded beſt, when diſpoſed in plundering parties, by making inroads, and that it was much ſafer to truſt to an irregular war, by ſkirmiſhing parties properly diſpoſed, than to their whole force, in one deciſive action.

CHAP. III.

New attempt of the Æqui, who are chaſtiſed.

WHEREFORE, leaving their camp under a guard, they ſallied out with ſuch fury upon the Roman territories, that they ſpread terror, even to the city. The terror of this invaſion, was greatly heightened by the ſurpriſe; for an enemy already conquered, and as it were, beſieged in their camp, could not be in the propereſt trim for plundering excurſions, and conſequently no formidable object. The country people, ſtruck with a panic, run up to the very gates, and their fears ſhowing them every object in a magnifying glaſs, cried out, that it was not ſmall foraging parties, but a regular army, and whole legions of enemies advancing with every hoſtile purpoſe to ſtorm the city. They who were neareſt the gates, retailed this intelligence to others, and the farther it ſpread, the more it was magnified; Such was the confuſion and noiſe whilſt they called to arms, that, had the city been taken, the terror could

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not have been much greater. Luckily, indeed, the conſul Quinctius, had juſt returned from the Algidus, which ſerved to allay their fears. Having brought them to reaſon, he rebuked them for being afraid of conquered enemies, and poſted guards at the gates. Then having convened the ſenate, and proclaimed a general vacation in the courts of juſtice, by the authority of the fathers, he conſigned the government of the city to Q. Servilius, and marched out to protect the country, but then no enemy was to be found.

The other conſul had been very alert. Having got intelligence of the enemy's rout, he fell upon them loaded with booty, and by that means, incumbered in their march, ſo that this plundering match coſt them very dear: few of the enemy eſcaped the trap he had laid for them, and all the booty was recovered. Upon Quinctius's return to the city, the courts of juſtice which had been ſhut for four days, were opened again. Then a cenſus was held, and when Quinctius had finiſhed the luſtrum, the number of citizens enrolled, is ſaid, to have amounted to one hundred and twenty-four thouſand, two hundred and fifteen, beſides orphans of both ſexes. After this, the Æqui made no great figure. They kept themſelves within their walls, whilſt their effects were burnt or plundered with impunity. The conſul Fabius, when he had repeatedly ſpread deſolation in the enemy's country, with fire and ſword, returned to Rome, full of glory and loaded with ſpoils.

CHAP. IV. *Furius over-reached by the Æqui.*

AFTER this, A. Poſthumius Albus and Sp. Furius Fuſus, were elected conſuls. The Furii, are by ſome authors, called Fuſii. I mention this, that none may be led into a miſtake, as to the perſons, by this change of names. It was fully expected, that one of the conſuls would proſecute the war againſt the Æqui; for which reaſon, the Æqui ſolicited aid from the Volſci, who inhabited Ecetra. Their requeſt was chearfully granted, ſo inveterate was the hatred of theſe ſtates againſt the Romans; wherefore, they made the moſt vigorous preparations for war.

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The Hernici, got intelligence of these motions, and advised the Romans accordingly, that the Ecetrans had joined in a confederacy with the Æqui. The colony of Antium, was likewise suspected, because, when that city was taken, many of the inhabitants had fled to the Æqui, and during the war, had signalized themselves in their service. When after this, the Æqui were compelled to take refuge within their walls, these troops retiring privately, had returned to Antium, and encouraged the colony, naturally averse to the Roman government, to shake off their allegiance entirely. As they were not yet in a condition to throw off the mask, when the senate was informed of their designs, they recommended to the consuls, to send for the principal men of the colony, and demand an explanation. They readily obeyed the summons, and being, by the consuls introduced to the senate, returned such answers to their questions, as rather confirmed than lessened the suspicions entertained of them.

After this, the war was looked on as certain. Sp. Furius, one of the consuls, whose province it was, marched against the Æqui, and found them busy in laying waste the territories of the Hernici. Unacquainted with their numbers, as they had never appeared in a body, he rashly gave them battle, when his army was much inferior; and consequently being routed at the first charge, fled back to his camp. Nor did the danger stop here; for, all the succeeding night, and day after, his camp was so closely blocked up, and so furiously attacked, that to send intelligence to Rome of his situation, was quite impracticable.

The news, however, of the loss of the battle, and the manner in which the consul and the army were blocked up in the camp, were transmitted by the Hernici. So much was the senate alarmed at this intelligence, that they gave it in charge to the other consul, Posthumius, "To take care, that the republic suffered no detriment;" a clause, in acts of the senate, expressive of the utmost danger. It was judged most prudent, that the consul himself should remain at Rome, to enlist all who were able to bear arms, and to dispatch Titus Quinctius, in

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quality of pro-conful *, with an army of the allies, to the relief of the camp. The Latins, Hernici, and colony of Antium, were ordered to make up his compliment with *fubitarii*, for fo auxiliaries raifed on a fudden were called in thofe days.

CHAP. V.

Relieved by Quinctius. Great ſlaughter of the Æqui.

IN the mean time, the enemy were every where in motion, making different attacks in different places, at one and the ſame time, for being ſuperior in point of numbers, they endeavoured, by dividing the Roman forces, inſufficient for the defence of every place at once, to cut them off in ſmall parties: At the ſame time, that they endeavoured to force the camp, they ſent out parties to lay waſte the country, and to carry deſolation to the city itſelf, ſhould they find a favourable opportunity. L. Valerius, was left to guard the city, whilſt the conſul Poſthumius, was ſent to drive the plunderers from the frontiers. Nothing was omitted, in any inſtance, in point of care or vigilance. Guards were placed in the city, centinels at the gates, and ſtrong parties to defend the walls; and what became neceſſary in ſuch confuſion, a vacation of all courts of juſtice, was appointed for ſeveral days.

In the mean time, the conſul Furius, although he had ſuffered himſelf, without buſtle, to be blocked up in his camp, made a ſudden ſally from the back gate, upon the unguarded enemy; and though he might have purſued his advantage, he ſtoped ſhort, fearing his camp might be in danger in ſome other quarter.

His brother Lucius, who was alſo his lieutenant-general, went too far, his eagerneſs in the purſuit, preventing him from obſerving the return of his friends, or the enemy's attack on his rear. Being cut off in this manner, from the body of the army, after he had often attempted to open himſelf a paſſage to the camp, he fell,

* The pro-conſul, acted in all reſpects as conſul, in the province committed to his care, but no where elſe.

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having ſold his life as dear as poſſible. Upon the news of his brother's diſaſter, the conſul returned to the engagement, and ruſhing with more haſte than caution, among the thickeſt of the enemy, he was wounded, and with difficulty carried off the field by thoſe about him; a circumſtance which diſpirited the Roman army not a little, and inſpired the enemy with a greater degree of confidence, who proud that they had diſpatched the lieutenant and wounded the conſul, carried all before them, drove the Romans back to their camp, and there beſieged them again, inferior in ſtrength, and without the leaſt ray of hope to ſupport them.

Such was their miſerable ſituation, when Quinctius came to their relief, with an army of the Latins, Hernici, and other foreign troops. Whilſt the Æqui directed all their force againſt the Roman camp, and inſulting the beſieged, by expoſing to their view, the head of their lieutenant-general, Quinctius attacked them in rear, whilſt, upon a ſignal from him at a diſtance, a ſally was made from the camp, ſo that the enemy was in a great meaſure ſurrounded. No great ſlaughter enſued, as they fled in ſtraggling parties, through the Roman territories.

Whilſt they were ſtraggling thus, and plundering by the way, Poſthumius, with ſome detachments, which he had poſted in proper places, gave them a very warm reception; and, after they had eſcaped the fury of Poſthumius, they fell in with Quinctius, who after his victory, was returning with the wounded conſul. Here the conſular army took full revenge for their lieutenant-general and his cohorts, as well as the wound received by the conſul. The ſlaughter was great on both ſides, for thoſe times.

It is, indeed, next to impoſſible, to aſcertain with preciſion, at this diſtance of time, what numbers were engaged, or fell: although Antias Valerius, finds no difficulty in condeſcending on the exact number. According to his account, there fell of the Romans, in the country of the Hernici, five thouſand three hundred. Of thoſe Æqui, who in ſcattered parties, pillaged the Roman territories, Poſthumius diſpatched two thouſand four hundred: but it was Quinctius who gave them the

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fatal blow, as he met with them carrying off their booty; for, by his minute reckoning, four thousand two hundred and thirty of them, were cut to pieces.

After this, they returned to Rome, when all the courts of justice were opened. At this time, the heavens seemed to be all in flames. Many other phænomina were really seen, or seemed to be so, by people overcome with their fears. To avert these dreadful omens, three solemn fast-days were appointed, during which, the temples were crouded with multitudes of both sexes, imploring the protection of the Gods. Then the Latin and Hernician troops were dismissed by the senate, who returned them their warmest acknowledgments, for their signal services in the war; but a thousand soldiers from Antium, who came too late to share in the glory of the day, had not so honourable a discharge.

CHAP. VI. *A Pestilence at Rome.* A. R. 291.

UPON this followed an election, when L. Æbutius and P. Servilius, were chosen consuls, and entered on their office, the first of August, which, at that time, was the beginning of the year *. This was a melancholy year, rendered so particularly by a plague, which raged in town and country, and carried off both man and beast. The fear of an invasion, contributed not a little to spread the infection, the peasants and their cattle, being all received into the city. This medley of animals of every kind, raised an intolerable smell, which became nauseous to the citizens, and stifled the country people, whilst they were pent up in close rooms, with heat and want of sleep: besides their attendance on each other, with the infectious nature of the distemper, propogated it every where.

When they were scarce able to support themselves under the pressure of these calamities, advices all of a sudden were brought from the Hernici, that the confederate

* The beginning of the consular year, was at this time, and long after, quite fluctuating and uncertain; sometimes commencing in March, sometimes in October, August, July, and December: but, at last, A. R. 599. it was fixed to commence in January, which ever after it continued to do, till the ruin of the republic.

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forces of the Æqui and Hernici had encamped in their country, and were proceeding with a huge army to pillage their lands. A thin ſenate eaſily diſcovered to the allies, how much the city had been reduced by the plague; and, beſides, carried back this uncomfortable anſwer: "That the Hernici, in conjunction with the Latins, muſt "for this time depend entirely upon their own internal "reſources, for the anger of the gods had depopulated "Rome by a ſudden plague. Should the rage of the "peſtilence ſubſide, they would not be wanting to give "their allies the aſſiſtance they had afforded them laſt "year, and on other occaſions." Upon this they departed more diſconſolate than they had ſet out; for they could not of themſelves ſupport a war, which they could only maintain with difficulty, ſuſtained by the Roman enſigns.

The enemy did not make a long ſtay in the country of the Hernici, but marched in a hoſtile manner into the territories of Rome, which were deſolate enough without the calamities of war. Meeting nobody with or without arms, and finding every thing defenceleſs and even uncultivated, they penetrated, by the Gabinian way, within three miles of Rome. Æbutius, one of the conſuls was dead; Servilius his colleague was ſcarce alive, and moſt of the nobility were affected, as were the greateſt part of the fathers, and alſo every one elſe fit to bear arms: inſomuch, that ſo far from having forces to ſtem the torrent of the war, with which they were threatened at preſent, they had not a ſufficient number of guards for common duty. The ſenators, whoſe age and health permitted them, mounted guard in perſon, and ſtood centry. The Ædiles went the rounds and gave orders: For on them the adminiſtration of government, together with the conſular authority had totally devolved.

CHAP. VII. *Ill ſucceſs of the Hernici. The plague rages. Recourſe to devotion.*

WHILE thus abandoned, without a head to conduct, or ſtrength to execute, the tutelar gods and fortune of the city preſerved it, and converted the hoſtile intention of the Æqui and Volſci into a plundering ſcheme.

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For they were so far from entertaining hopes of carrying the city, that they never once thought of marching up to its walls. The sight of the houses at a distance, and the threatening tombs had such an effect on their feelings, that they began to murmur throughout the whole camp, "That they were wasting their time, without "plunder, in a wild and depopulated country, where "they could meet with nothing but rotten carcases of "men and beasts, while they might have gone to healthy places, to the rich plains of Tusculum. That "they ought immediately to pull up their standards, "and, by marching through the Lavican territories, "proceed to the hills of Tusculum." Thither therefore did they carry all the force and fury of the war.

In the meantime, the Hernici and Latins, not only from a principle of humanity, but of shame, that they had suffered their common enemy to march to Rome without the least interruption, and had brought no assistance to their allies when besieged, marched with their confederate army to Rome. When they found the enemy had disappeared, they got intelligence of their motions, and pursued their track, till they met them coming down from the Tusculan hills into the valley of Alba. There they fought with great disadvantage, and for the present, their success was not equal to their fidelity to their allies.

The havock was no less at Rome by means of the plague, than of the allies by the sword. The only consul that had hitherto survived, and with him other men of distinction, as M. Valerius, T. Virginius Rutilus, the augurs; Ser. Sulpitius, the arch Curio, were all swept away. Great numbers of the lower people were also devoured by the plague. The senate destitute of all human aid, recommended to the people to look up to the gods and have recourse to prayer, ordering them to go with their wives and children in procession, and supplicate the divine mercy. Called upon thus, by public authority, to act a part, which every one's distress, as an individual, made his bounden duty, all the temples were crowded, where the matrons, prostrating themselves on the floors, which they brushed with their hair, deprecated the divine wrath, and implored the gods to put an end to the plague.

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CHAP. VIII.

The plague abates. Great ſlaughter of the Volſci.

FROM this time, the ſickneſs gradually abated; whether it was the effect of their prayers, or that the ſickly ſeaſon was paſt, all ſigns of diſeaſe began to diſappear, and give place to health and vigour. Now they directed all their attention to public affairs; and after ſeveral interregnums, P. Valerius Publicola, the third day after he had been choſen inter-rex, nominated L. Lucretius Tricipitinus, and T. Viturius Geminus, conſuls. In ſome hiſtorians, the laſt is called Vetuſius. They entered upon their office on the ninth of Auguſt; at which time the citizens were ſo much recovered, that they were in a condition not only to act upon the defenſive, but to carry the war into the heart of the enemy's country.

In conſequence of advices from the Hernici, that their country was invaded, the Romans readily promiſed them aſſiſtance. Two conſular armies were levied. Veturius was ſent to attack the Volſci in their own country, and Tricipitinus having poſted himſelf ſo as to prevent the country of the allies from being plundered, went no farther than the territories of the Hernici. In the very firſt action, Veturius obtained a complete victory over the Volſci. The pillagers eſcaped the vigilance of Lucretius, as he lay encamped in the country of the Hernici; and marching along the tops of the hills of Præneſte, made a deſcent upon the plains. There they ravaged the lands of Præneſte and Gabii; and from Gabii, marched round to the hills of Tuſculum.

Rome was in the moſt dreadful conſternation; not that they wanted the means of defence, but becauſe the alarm was ſo ſudden and unexpected. The government of the city had, at that time, been committed to Q. Fabius. He armed all the youth; and having poſted guards in proper places, put the city in a ſtate of ſafety and quiet. Wherefore, as the enemy, having ſeized upon all they could in the adjacent countries, were fetching a compaſs to return home, not daring to ad-

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vance nearer the city, and growing more careleſs in their march, the farther they got from it, fell in with the conſul Lucretius, previouſly informed of their route by his ſcouts, and every way prepared for action. Wherefore, the courage of the ſoldiers being already wound up to the higheſt pitch, they charged the confederates, who were ſtruck with a ſudden panic, and tho' ſomewhat inferior in point of numbers, gave them a total overthrow. They fled into the valleys, whence the outlets were difficult, and ſo were ſurrounded on all ſides. There the whole nation of the Volſci was almoſt cut to pieces.

Some annals aſcertain the number of the ſlain in the action and the flight to be 14470, the number of priſoners 1250, and add that twenty-ſeven ſtandards were brought out of the field. It is very poſſible this number of killed may be ſomewhat exaggerated; but, it is very certain, however, that the ſlaughter was prodigious.—The victorious conſul, returned with a great booty, back to his camp.

Then both conſuls encamped together; and the Æqui and Volſci alſo joined the wreck of their armies. A battle was the conſequence, the third this year, [*A. R.* 291.] Fortune ſtill continued to ſide with the Romans; for the enemy were routed, and their camp taken.

CHAP. IX.

A law propoſed to retrench the power of the Conſuls, and oppoſed by Q. Fabius.

THUS, once more, did the Roman ſtate reſume its former ſplendour: But ſucceſs abroad, was immediately productive of commotions at home. C. Terentillus Arſa, was this year tribune of the people. He, thinking the abſence of the conſuls a proper opportunity for introducing the claims of the tribunes, had for ſome days been inveighing againſt the pride of the ſenators before the people, and particularly againſt the conſular power, as too deſpotic and intollerable in a free ſtate; repreſenting, "That it differed from regal deſpotiſm "only in name, for in effect it had in it ſomething ſtill "more odious. That inſtead of one king, they had got

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" two, whose power was boundless and immoderate;
" and being themselves neither confined nor restrained
" by any law, turned the whole terror and severity of
" the laws against the common people. That this li-
" centiousness might not be perpetual, he intended to
" prefer a bill for getting five commissioners appointed
" to draw up laws for regulating the consular authority.
" That in consequence, the consuls should have no o-
" ther right over the people, than the people themselves
" should think proper to give them; nor substitute their
" own passion and caprice in place of law."

This law being proposed, the Patricians were not a little afraid, that in the absence of the consuls, this yoke might be wreathed about their necks, when Q. Fabius assembled the senate, as governor of the city. There he gave full scope to his indignation, in inveighing against the bill and its author, insomuch, that had both consuls been present, determined to pull the tribune to pieces, they could not have opened on him with greater fury, or employed more dreadful menaces. " This fellow,
" says he, lies in wait, and takes advantage of the ab-
" sence of the consuls, to strike a blow against the com-
" monwealth. Had the gods in their wrath, only the
" year before, given Rome such a tribune, in the midst
" of the plague and the war, his villainy might have
" been then triumphant. The two consuls being no
" more, and the city labouring in sickness and general
" confusion, he would then have proposed the abolition
" of the consulship, and put himself at the head of the
" Æqui and Volsci to attack the city. What can he
" plead in excuse for such licentiousness? If the consuls,
" in the abuse of their authority, oppressed any citizen,
" they might be cited before the people, at whose tri-
" bunal they were obliged to answer; and of this order,
" the complainant himself is a member. Proceedings
" like his, would not only render the consular, but the
" tribunitian power odious and unsupportable, which
" having only of late been made familiar, and recon-
" ciled to the minds of the Patricians, would again be-
" come their abhorrence."

" I am not, says he, to insist, that you should give
" up your proposition;" and addressing himself to his

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colleagues, "It is you whom we conjure, first of all to "consider, that the original design of the tribunitian "power was for the protection of individuals, and not "for the destruction of the whole community. You "were made the tribunes of the people, not the perse-"cutors of the senate. Should the majesty of the Re-"public in the absence of its magistrates be violated, it "would be painful to us;—to you it would be an in-"vidious affair. A title of your power you will not "lose, but you will avoid much hatred. Use your in-"terest with your colleague, to suffer the matter to rest "as it is, till the return of the supreme magistrates. "The very Æqui and Volsci had the humanity to desist "from a cruel and destructive war against us last year, "when the plague had deprived us of both our consuls." His colleagues interposed, and Terentillus complied; and the bill being in appearance put off, though in reality it was withdrawn, the consuls were immediately recalled.

CHAP. X. *Lucretius is appointed a triumph. Prodigies. Tribunitian contests.*

LUCRETIUS returned to Rome with prodigious booty, but still greater glory. On his arrival, he exposed the whole spoil in the Campus Martius, for three days together, that individuals might know, and carry away their own property, which considerably enhanced his reputation. What nobody appeared to claim, was sold. A triumph was unanimously decreed him, but it was suspended; the tribune still insisting on his bill, which in course came in before the decree relating to the consul. For some days it was warmly debated in the senate, and before the people; but the tribune at length yielded to the consuls authority, and withdrew his bill.

Upon this, Lucretius had the honour paid him due to himself and army: For, he triumphed over the Volsci and Æqui, his soldiers following in the procession. An Ovation* was also granted to his colleague, who entered the city without his army

* A lesser kind of triumph decreed to those who obtained a victory of small importance, where the opposition was not formi-

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The next year, an attempt was made on the new conſuls, to revive Tarentinus's bill; in promoting which, the whole college of tribunes warmly joined their intereſt. The conſuls were P. Volumnius and Ser. Sulpicius.

That year the heavens ſeemed to be on fire, and there was a terrible earthquake; and what ſeemed incredible the year before, that a cow had ſpoke, now paſſed current. Among other prodigies, a dreadful ſhower fell of raw fleſh, which, it is ſaid, was catched as it fell, by ſwarms of birds fluttering round it; what eſcaped them, lay ſcattered on the ground, without changing its ſmell. The duumvirs, who preſided over ſacred things conſulted the Sybilline books. They declared, that the city was threatened with an eruption of ſtrange enemies, and to prevent any attack upon the higher parts of the city, and the ſlaughter that might enſue, among other things it was ſtrongly recommended, to give ſedition no countenance. The ſenators were accuſed by the tribunes of contriving this to obſtruct the paſſing of the law, and in conſequence, the diſpute ran very high.

In the mean time, advices are brought from the Hernici, that the Volſci and Æqui, for all the fatal blow they had received, were recruiting their army, juſt as if the war were every year to take the ſame turn. That the Antiates, who openly held their councils at Ecetra, were the principal ſupport of the enemies of Rome. That the head of the confederacy, was Antium, which furniſhed troops for the war. When theſe things were laid before the ſenate, they ordered an army immediately to be levied. The management of the war, was committed to the conſuls conjunctly, the one to march againſt the Volſci, and the other againſt the Æqui.

The tribunes, in the mean time, exclaimed loudly in the forum, "That the war with the Volſci, was a mere "bug-bear, and that the Hernici had been previouſly "inſtructed to act their parts. That, at preſent, no "open attack was made upon the liberties of the people, "but they were undermined by artifice. That the "Volſci, who had been almoſt exterminated, ſhould,

dable. In this caſe, the general did not enter the city in a chariot, nor was he crowned with laurel.

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" in conjunction with the Æqui, without any provoca-
" tion, put their troops in motion, was inconsistent with
" common sense. They must, therefore, look for new
" enemies. A faithful, a neighbouring colony is de-
" famed. War must be denounced against the innocent
" Antiates, but carried on against the commons of
" Rome, whom they were dragging headlong out of
" the city, loaded with arms, that by banishing the ci-
" tizens, or sending them out of the way, they might
" have the tribunes at their mercy. But, that they
" might not be deceived, they could assure them, there
" was no other point in view, but to evade the law,
" which would be the case, if now, whilst it was on the
" carpet, and whilst they were in their gowns, they
" did not take care, how they were dragged out of the
" city, or received a yoke of slavery. If they had only
" resolution, they should find assistance. The tribunes
" were unanimous. Their was no fear of an invasion,
" nor prospect of danger. The Gods had last year
" taken care, that their liberty should be safely pro-
" tected."

CHAP. XI.

Struggle of the young Patricians with the Tribunes. Impetuosity of Cæso, who is appointed a day.

SUCH were the remonstrances of the tribunes. On the other hand, the consuls erected their tribunals in their presence, and began to make the levies. The tribunes repaired thither with all haste, and the whole assembly in their retinue. A few were called on, by way of experiment, which produced a tumult in an instant. Whenever by order of the consul, a lictor laid hold of any one, that moment a tribune ordered him to be released. Neither party took their measures from the laws, their sole dependance lay in force and violence, to compass their designs. The same activity which the tribunes showed in opposing the levies, did the Patricians exert in opposing the law, which was constantly proposed every comitial day. A quarrel arose, when the tribunes ordered the people to leave the forum, from which, the

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Patricians would, by no means, ſuffer themſelves to be removed.

As the debates in theſe aſſemblies were not managed with temper, the aged ſenators ſeldom appeared there, leaving the conduct of the oppoſition, to the raſh and audacious young nobles. For ſome time too the conſuls kept away, for fear of expoſing the dignity of their office to inſults, in ſuch a mixed convention. There was one Cæſo Quinctius, a young nobleman of high ſpirits, with which, his high birth, extraordinary ſize, and great ſtrength, inſpired him. To theſe advantages the Gods had beſtowed upon him, he had added many honours gained in war, and was an excellent ſpeaker, ſo that the republic could not boaſt of a better ſoldier, or a greater orator.

This youth, when encircled by his band of nobles, was always moſt conſpicuous; and as if his ſtrength and eloquence had inveſted him with all conſular, and even dictatorial power, he boldly ſuſtained the ſtorms of the tribunes, and fury of the mob. Under his conduct, the tribunes had been frequently driven out of the forum, and the rabble diſperſed and put to flight. Whoever offered to reſiſt, did not fail to be roughly handled and ſtriped naked. Hence, they eaſily ſaw, that unleſs he got a ſevere check, their exertions to promote the law would ſignify nothing.

When the other tribunes had given over all for loſt, one of their number, A. Virginius, ſummoned Cæſo againſt a certain day, to be tried capitally. This ſtep, far from abating, ſerved only to inflame the courage of this impetuous youth. He ſtill perſiſted in oppoſing the law with more vehemence than ever, redoubled his inſults of the plebeians, and attacked the tribunes without any reſerve, as having then a juſt cauſe for making war upon them. His accuſer, after his impeachment, ſuffered him to go every length, that by his outrages, he might increaſe the odium againſt him, and furniſh them with new matter of grievance.

In the mean time, he continued to puſh the law, not ſo much from any hopes he had of carrying it, as to provoke this raſh young nobleman. Many things that had been ſaid and done without conſideration, by the

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young nobility, were all charged upon Cæso, who was now become odious. Notwithstanding of which, he persisted in his oppositon to the law.

A. Virginius was every now and then trumpeting to the people, to this effect; "Are you not sensible fellow-"citizens, that you cannot retain Cæso, and carry the "law you are so much set upon? But, why do I men-"tion the law? He is an enemy to your liberty, and "in pride, exceeds all the Tarquins put together. Only "wait till he is made consul or dictator. You see with "what force and violence he lords it now, while only "a private citizen." Many approved of the tribune's speech, complaining, that they had been roughly handled by him, and urged the tribune, to strain every nerve to bring him to condign punishment.

CHAP. XII.

Cæso depricates the wrath of the People.

THE day for the trial came, and the people in general, seemed to think, that their liberty depended on the condemnation of Cæso. Urged, therefore, by necessity, with much inward indignation, he went about soliciting their favour one by one; his relations and friends, the principal men of the city, attending him. T. Quinctius, who had been thrice consul, after recounting the honours which he himself, and others of his family had acquired by their gallantry, affirmed, "That neither the Quinctian name, nor even "the whole Roman state, had ever produced a more "excellent genius, or a soldier of more consummate "bravery:—that he had marked him as the first soldier "in the army, as he had often seen him signalize him-"self, when engaged with the enemy." Sp. Furius bare testimony, "That when he was in the most dan-"gerous situation, Quinctius sent Cæso to his relief; "and that his valour, upon that critical occasion, was "peculiarly essential to the prosperity of the state." Lucretius, one of the last year's consuls, covered with fresh laurels, divided his glory with Cæso; enumerating his combats, and glorious atchievements in pitched battles,

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as well as detached parties; and with the moſt perſuaſive arguments, he exhorted the people, "To make it their "choice, that a youth poſſeſſed of ſo many excellent "endowments, which muſt render him a valuable ac-"quiſition to any ſtate, whether he might retire, ſhould "rather be a citizen of Rome, than of any other city "whatever. The fire and ſpirit, which they found fault "with, would evaporate with an increaſe of years, and "give him prudence in exchange, which was the only "thing he wanted: his faults declining, whilſt his vir-"tues were perpetually advancing to maturity, they "would find their account in ſuffering ſo great a man "to improve and grow old in his country." Among the reſt, L. Quinctius, ſirnamed Cincinatus, pleaded alſo for his ſon, not by extolling his merit, for fear he would thereby only exaſperate his enemies, but by intreating the aſſembly, to impute his errors to his youth, and for his father's ſake, to forgive them, whom none of them could accuſe of having injured them in any inſtance, either by word or deed. Some of the aſſembly made no return to their ſubmiſſions, either through modeſty or fear, whilſt others complaining, that they and their friends had ſuffered by his blows, by the raſhneſs of their return, plainly diſcovering what their ſentence was to be.

CHAP. XIII.

Cæſo arreſted, finds bail and baniſhes himſelf.

THERE was one charge brought againſt Cæſo, which hung heavier on him, than all the public odium beſides; in ſupport of which, M. Volſcius Fictor, who had been tribune of the people ſome years before, roſe up to give evidence. He averred, "That ſoon "after the city was freed from the plague, he had fallen "in with a ſet of libertine young Patricians, rioting in "the Subura, and a quarrel enſuing, his elder brother, "who had not then got entirely over his complaints, "was knocked down by Cæſo, and left almoſt expiring: "being carried home between mens hands, he died; "and, he had reaſon to think, that it was in conſe-

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" quence of that blow. But the conſuls, for the pre-
" ceding years, would not permit him to proſecute Cæſo
" as the author of this inhuman murder." The people were ſo exaſperated at this charge, that in their fury, they were not far from taking immediate vengeance on the ſpot.

Virginius ordered him to be ſeized and carried to priſon; but the Patricians prevented the execution by force. His father, T. Quinctius, inſiſted, " That it
" was quite inconſiſtent with all law, to do violence to
" the perſon of any citizen accuſed of a capital crime,
" for which, he was to be tried, before he was heard
" in his own defence, and condemned." The tribune replied, " That he had no intention of hurting his per-
" ſon, till he ſhould be legally condemned, but only to
" ſecure him in priſon, till the day of his trial, that as
" he had been guilty of murder, the Roman people
" might have it in their power, to puniſh him for it."

When an appeal was made to the tribunes, they exerted their right of relieving the oppreſſed, by taking a middle way. They agreed, that he ſhould not be impriſoned, but ſhould find bail for his appearance in judgment, on the day appointed, under a penalty, to be forfeited to the people, in caſe of non-appearance. There was a diſpute about the extent of the penalty, which was at laſt ſubmitted to the nomination of the ſenate; and during the deliberation of the fathers on that point, Cæſo was kept under arreſt in the forum. They fixed the ſum in which each ſurety ſhould be bound, at three thouſand aſſes of braſs *; but left it to the college of tribunes, to determine the number. They demanded ten, and ten were bound for Cæſo's appearance accordingly. This was the firſt inſtance of a ſtate criminal's finding bail.

Being now at liberty, the very next night, he left Rome, and retired in exile among the Etrurians. When the day, fixed for his trial came, it was pled, that Cæſo having baniſhed himſelf, he was not amenable to their aſſembly; but Virginius held the Comitia notwithſtanding, and an appeal being entered to the other tribunes,

* Nine pound, thirteen ſhillings, and ſix-pence.

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the assembly was dismissed. The penalty was, however, vigorously exacted of the father; so that having sold the better part of his estate, he lived for some time, like an exile, in a retired and solitary cottage, on the other side of the Tiber.

CHAP. XIV.

The young Nobility, by their complaisance, get the better of the Tribunes.

THIS trial and promulgation of the law, kept the whole city employed, for there was no foreign war to disturb them. The tribunes, as if they had really obtained a victory, concluded, that now, the Patricians being effectually intimidated, by the banishment of Cæso, that they were at last secure of getting the bill passed; and, that the elder senators, having withdrawn themselves, in a great measure, from the administration, seemed to yield to them, all authority in the state.

The young nobility, especially the late companions of Cæso, without any diminution of their courage, became still more incensed against the plebeians. But in one respect, they were much improved; for they had learned to manage their fury with more caution. The moment the law was proposed, after the banishment of Cæso, being quite prepared, and supported by a great number of their clients, whenever the tribunes furnished them with an excuse for violence, by attempting to remove them from the assembly, they attacked them in such a manner, that no one of the assailants could be singled out as the author, to incur the odium or the honour. The people complained, that instead of one Cæso, they had now to struggle with a thousand.

In the intermediate days, when the law was not in question, no men were more composed or complaisant, than these young nobles. They addressed the commons with the greatest shew of affability, entered into the most familiar conversation with them, inviting them to their houses, assembling with them in the forum, and in other matters, suffering the tribunes to hold their plebeian councils, without the least interruption. Neither in

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public, nor in private, did they discover any rancour, excepting when the law was in question. On all other occasions, they were all affability and complaisance to the commons. Nay, the tribunes had not only full liberty to do their other business quietly, but without a contradictive word, or the least violence offered them, were re-chosen to their office for the ensuing year; condescensions and compliances, by which they gradually soothed the multitude, and effectually defeated every attempt in favour of the laws for all that year.

CHAP. XV.

Herdonius's attempt upon Rome. A. R. 293.

WHEN C. Claudius, son of Appius, and P. Valerius Publicola, succeeded to the consulship, they found greater harmony in the state, than it had enjoyed for some time before. The new year produced nothing remarkable, as to geting the bill passed; and to prevent it, continued to be the sole object of public attention. The more the young nobles insinuated themselves into the good graces of the Plebeians, the more vigilant were the tribunes in setting every engine at work, by loading them with calumnies, to render them suspected. They alledged, "That there was a conspiracy on foot; "—that Cæso was actually at Rome;—that measures "were concerted for murdering the tribunes, and massacring the commons: That the elder senators had "given it in charge to the younger, to suppress the "tribunitian power, and to restore the state to that "form of government, which prevailed in Rome before "the secession to the *mons sacer*." Moreover, they dreaded a war with the Volsci and Æqui, which was now become common, as it happened regularly almost every year: but, in the meantime, another new and unexpected calamity became the object of their attention, nearer home.

The capital and fortress adjacent to it, was surprized and seized in the night time, by 4500 out-laws and slaves, with Appius Herdonius, a Sabine at their head. All that were found in the citadel, who refused to join

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in their enterprize, and take up arms with them, were immediately put to death. In the confuſion, ſome agitated with fear, run precipitately into the forum, where "to arms,—the enemy is in the city," was the univerſal cry.

The conſuls, at a loſs to determine, whether this ſudden blow was ſtruck by foreign or domeſtic foes, whether it originated in the diſcontent and enmity of the commons, or in a plot of the ſlaves, were equally afraid to arm the Plebeians, and to leave them unarmed. They endeavoured to ſettle the confuſion, but their endeavours ſometimes only increaſed it. The multitude, ſtruck with conſternation and affright, could not be brought under anygovernment whatever. They however gave out arms, but not to all indiſcriminately, only to ſuch as they could confide in moſt; and of theſe only, ſuch a number as were ſufficient to guard every place againſt the attacks of an enemy, of whom they had as yet no idea. Therefore being totally ignorant, what enemy, or what number they had to oppoſe, they paſſed the remainder of the night in great perplexity, poſting guards wherever they were thought neceſſary.

At laſt, day light made the wiſhed for diſcovery whence the war proceeded, and by whom it was conducted. Appius Herdonius from the capitol proclaimed liberty to the ſlaves, declaring, "That he had under-"taken the cauſe of the miſerable, to reſtore exiles, un-"juſtly baniſhed, to their country; and to deliver ſlaves "from the oppreſſive yoke. That he had rather the "Roman people would do this uncompelled; but if he "ſaw no hopes of relief from that quarter, he would "have recourſe to the Æqui and Volſci, and leave no-"thing unattempted to effectuate his purpoſe."

CHAP. XVI. *Obſtructions of the Tribunes.*

THE myſtery being now ſomewhat cleared up, the conſuls and ſenators, beſides what was publicly threatened, became very uneaſy with the apprehenſion, that this enterprize had been concerted with the Vejentes and Sabines; and whilſt they had ſo many of the enemy already in the city, the Sabine and Etrurian legi-

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ons might ſoon arrive according to concert, followed by thoſe of the Æqui and Volſci, the eternal enemies of Rome; who would not come to ravage the country as formerly, but to take poſſeſſion of a city, already half taken. Among ſo many cauſes of diſtruſt, their principal terror was with reſpect to the ſlaves, no man knowing but he had an enemy in his houſe, in whom they neither could ſafely confide, having no aſſurance of their fidelity, nor ſeem to diſtruſt, for fear of making them enemies Such was their embarraſſment, that they did not imagine that a thorough reconciliation between the orders, would be ſufficient to ſave the ſtate. However, among all the calamities that threatned them, they had not the leaſt apprehenſion of danger from the people or their magiſtrates. Their domeſtic diſſentions they conſidered as evils of a gentle kind, being ever the conſequences of freedom from all other calamities, and for the preſent ſeemed to be abſorbed in this foreign alarm. However, it was this that bore heavieſt upon them, when tottering thus under the preſſure of other troubles. The phrenzy of the tribunes roſe ſo high, that they inſiſted the war was a mere bug-bear,—that the capitol had been ſeized with no other view, than to make them forget the bill; but were it once paſſed, they would ſee thoſe clients and creatures of the Patricians, finding all their riotous exertions to obſtruct it ineffectual, ſteal away in as great ſilence as they entered. Then calling the people from their arms, they held an aſſembly to paſs the law. In the meantime, the conſuls conveened the ſenate, more afraid of the tribunes than of the enemy, who had alarmed them in the night.

CHAP. XVII.

Animated ſpeech of Valerius. Obſtinacy of the Tribunes.

WHEN word was brought that the people had laid down their arms, and quitted their poſts, Publius Valerius, leaving his colleague to keep the ſenate together, left the ſenate-houſe in a great hurry, and flew to the temple to the tribunes. "What is the meaning of "this, ſaid he, tribunes? Will nothing leſs ſerve you

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" than a ſubverſion of the commonwealth, under the " conduct and auſpices of Herdonius? has he, who had " not ſufficient influence to entice our ſlaves to join him, " found the way to bring you over to his party? How! " whilſt the enemy are over our heads, do you order " the people to lay down their arms, that they may " make laws?" Then, addreſſing himſelf to the people, he continued, " If you ſhould be under no concern for " the city, and ſhould you be quite inſenſible of your " own danger, you ought at leaſt to have ſome regard " to the gods of your country, who are in the hands of " the enemy. Jupiter, the moſt high, the moſt bene- " volent, queen Juno, Minerva, and all the gods and " goddeſſes are at this moment ſuffering a ſiege. Slaves " are encamped round your tutelar gods. Do your " proceedings evince that you are in your ſenſes? While " ſo formidable an enemy is not only within our walls, " but in the citadel overlooking the forum, and place " of our aſſemblies; yet we hold our aſſemblies with in- " difference, and deliberate with as much unconcern, " as in times of the greateſt tranquillity. Ought we not " rather, Patricians, plebeians, conſuls, tribunes, citi- " zens, every man to take arms and ſend their aid? " Ought we not to fly to the capitol, to deliver and " regain that auguſt habitation of the almighty Jupiter? " O thou, father Romulus, inſpire thy deſcendants with " the ſame gallant ſpirit which animated thee, when " thou didſt formerly recover this citadel from the ſame " Sabines, after they had obtained it by the power of " gold. Move them to march the ſame way by which " thou didſt conduct thy army. As for me, I am ready, " as conſul, to be the foremoſt in following thee, and " tread thy paths, as far as a mortal man can follow a " god." At the concluſion of his ſpeech, he declared, " That he would take arms, and called upon every Ro- " man to do the ſame; proteſting, if any one ſhould " dare to hinder them, that without regard to conſular " authority, tribunitian power, or the ſacred laws them- " ſelves, that whatever was his quality, or whereſoever " he ſhould find him, he would treat him as an enemy " to the ſtate. That the tribunes, if they pleaſed, ſince " they had forbidden them to arm againſt Herdonius,

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" might now command them to take arms againſt Va-
" lerius the conſul; and he would not heſitate to act by
" the tribunes, as the founder of his family had done by
" the kings."

Matters ſeemed now to be in that train, that nothing but the utmoſt violence would have been the iſſue, when a ſedition of the Romans would have been exhibited as a ſpectacle to the enemy. The tribunes could not proceed in paſſing the bill, nor could the conſul march againſt the capitol, till night came on and ſuſpended the diſpute. During the night, fear of the armed citizens, who were at the conſuls devotion, kept the tribunes quiet. Wherefore, when theſe Dæmons of diſcord were out of the way, the ſenators went round among the people, and mixing with them in their crouds, entered into converſation with them ſuitable to the times; conjuring them, " To take care how they plunged the Republic into this " extremity of danger.—That the conteſt now was not " between the Patricians and Plebeians, but that both " alike, the citadel of Rome, the temples of their gods, " the tutelar gods of the ſtate, the domeſtic gods of e-" very citizen, were abandoned to their enemies."—Whilſt the ſenators were thus employed in in-bringing the multitude to reaſon in the forum, the conſuls in the mean time, poſted guards at the gates and walls, to prevent any ſurprize from the Sabines and Vejentes.

CHAP. XVIII.

Kindneſs of the Tuſculans. The Capitol relieved, but Valerius killed.

THAT very night, the news of taking the citadel, ſurpriſing the capitol, and of the confuſion that raged at Rome reached the Tuſculum, where Mamilius, at that time preſided as dictator. He immediately conveened the ſenate, introduced the meſſengers, and warmly remonſtrated, " That they ought not to wait till " Rome ſhould demand their aſſiſtance in form; that " the danger and hazard, their confederate gods, and " the ſacred obligation of treaties required the utmoſt " diſpatch. The gods could never give them a better

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"opportunity, of evidencing their zeal and attachment "to so powerful a neighbouring city." They chearfully consented to send them assistance, and their youth were immediately mustered and armed.

They reached Rome, early next morning, and at a distance were taken for the Æqui and Volsci, coming against them. When they were convinced of their mistake, they received them into the city, where they marched in a body to the forum and joined Valerius, already drawing up his troops, having left the guard of the gates to his colleague.

The character of Valerius, had great weight with the people, when he assured them; "That whenever the capitol "should be recovered, and the tranquillity of the city re- "stored, if they would permit him then to inform them, "of the artful, self-interested views, concealed under the "specious law in question, he would neither be forgetful "of his ancestors, nor his sir-name, entailed upon him "by his progenitors, as an hereditary obligation, to "support the interests of the people, and for his own "part, would give no interruption to their assemblies." Accordingly they followed him, in spite of all the tribunes could urge, and gained the declivity of the Capitoline-hill, in conjunction with the Tusculan auxiliaries.

Here a noble emulation of being foremost in the charge, animated the Romans and allies. They were encouraged by their leaders on both sides. The enemy then began to be afraid, having no other resource, but in the strength of the place. The confederates took advantage of their disorder, and charged them briskly, and had already broke into the porch of the temple, when P. Valerius, who fought at the head of his troops was killed. P. Volumnius, a consular gentleman, saw him fall, and ordering his men to cover his body, flew to take his place. The ardour and fury with which they fought, kept them insensible of the melancholy event; so that they had gained the victory before they perceived they had fought without a general. The temple was polluted with the blood of many of the exiles, many were taken alive; but Herdonius himself was among the slain. Thus then was the capitol recovered. The prisoners were punished according to their quality,

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as freemen or ſlaves. The Tuſculans had the public thanks. The capitol was cleanſed and purified, and the people, are ſaid, to have caſt farthings into the conſul's houſe, that he might be buried with the greater pomp.

CHAP. XIX.

The Tribunes over-ruled, by the noble efforts of Cincinnatus.

THIS affair was no ſooner happily terminated, than the tribunes became importunate with the ſenators, to perform the promiſe made them by P. Valerius. They preſſed Claudius, to deliver the manes of his colleagues, from the imputation of treachery, by ſuffering them, without interruption, to go on in the affair of the law. Claudius told them that the queſtion was inadmiſſible, till once they had given him a colleague. They continued to wrangle upon this point, till the Comitia were held for the election of a new conſul. In the month of December, L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, Cæſo's father, owing to the indefatigable application of the fathers, was appointed to the conſular faſces.

This choice was a thunder-ſtroke to the people, as they were now under the government of a magiſtrate of great abilities, great credit in the ſenate, and highly exaſperated againſt them, and beſides had three ſons; in magnanimity not inferior to Cæſo, and in prudence far ſurpaſſing him, when they had occaſion to diſplay it.

He no ſooner entered upon office, than in the ſpeeches which he daily made from his tribunal, he applied himſelf no leſs to rouſe the ſenate from their lethargy, than to check the licentiouſneſs of the people. Addreſſing himſelf to the ſenators, he told them, "That it was "owing to their conſtant facility, and want of reſolu- "tion, that the ſame men were continued in the tribun- "ſhip from year to year, men, who by their impeach- "ments and foul language, lord it over the ſtate, as a "ſet of bullies do over a brothel. That courage, con- "ſtancy, in fine, every virtue, civil and military, that "adorn youth, was driven from Rome, with his ſon "Cæſo. Bablers, hatchers of ſedition, and diviſions in "the ſtate, prevail by their vile intrigues, to be conti-

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" nued in the office of tribunes, for two or three
" years, and to act in it with tyrannical wantonneſs."
" What!" continued he, " has this Aulus Virginius,
" becauſe he was not in the capitol, deſerved leſs pu-
" niſhment, than Appius Herdonius, who ſeized it? I
" affirm, if the circumſtances be properly attended to,
" it will be evident, that he deſerved it more. Herdo-
" nius, in declaring himſelf your enemy, did in ſome
" meaſure, put arms into your hands; but this tribune,
" in maintaining with effrontery, that there was no war,
" —no enemy, wreſted your arms from you, and gave
" you up defenceleſs to your ſlaves and exiles; and did
" you march your troops, (with deference to my col-
" league, C. Claudius, and the dead Valerius, be it
" ſpoken); did you march, I ſay, up to the capitol,
" before you had cleared the forum of theſe wretches,
" the more dangerous enemies of Rome? What a ſhame
" in the ſight of Gods and men! Whilſt the enemy
" were in poſſeſſion of the capitol and citadel, and a
" captain of a banditti, compoſed of exiles and ſlaves,
" after they had profaned every thing, and taken up
" their quarters in the temple of the moſt high Jupiter,
" the Tuſculans ſhould have armed in our defence, be-
" fore we did it ourſelves! There is ſtill reaſon to doubt,
" whether it was L. Mamilius, the general of Tuſculum,
" or the conſuls, Valerius and Claudius, that delivered
" the citadel of Rome. And, that we, who would not
" even permit the Latins to arm in their own defence,
" even when the enemy was in their country, ſhould,
" upon this occaſion, have been ſtruck out of exiſtence
" as a ſtate, had not theſe ſame Latins, as a pure effect
" of their good-will, armed for our relief. And is this
" what you, tribunes, call *aiding the plebeians*, to give
" them up unarmed to be ſlaughtered by the enemy?
" If any one, the loweſt of the people, with whom you
" herd, and of whom you have formed a country and
" republic, diſtinct from the ſtate, peculiar to yourſelves,
" ſhould come and inform you, that his houſe was in-
" veſted with a body of armed ſlaves, you might think
" it incumbent on you, to run to his relief: but the
" moſt high, the moſt benevolent Jupiter, was not wor-
" thy to be reſcued by human aid, when beſet with arm-

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"ed slaves and out-laws. Shall they, to whom the Gods "are not sacred, have the impudence to insist after this, "that their persons are sacred and inviolable? And, "do you flatter yourselves, that covered as you are with "crimes, both before Gods and men, that you shall "pass your bill this year? By all that is sacred, if you "even offer to prefer it, the day in which I was chosen "consul, will prove more unfortunate, than that, on "which, the republic lost Valerius. But my colleague "and I, have taken our measures; and first of all, we "are to march the legions against the Æqui and Volsci. "How it comes about, I cannot say, but the Gods are "ever more favourable to us in war, than in peace.— "What would have been the consequence, had it tran-"spired among these nations, that the capitol was taken "by exiles? However, it is better to form suspicions of "what might have happened, when all is over, than to "put it to the test by actual experiment."

CHAP. XX.

The Senate encouraged, and the People depressed.

SO vigorous a discourse, quite stunned the people. The senate pulled up their spirits, and began to think that the republic was restored. The other consul, a better assessor than principal, easily suffered his colleague to take the lead in this weighty business, but claimed to himself the share in the execution, which appertained to his office as consul. The tribunes treated all these menaces, as idle vapouring, asking with an air of contempt, "Where the consuls would get the army they meaned "to lead out, for they might be assured, they would "not be suffered to make levies." "We have occasion "for none," replied Quinctius; "the citizens, when "they took arms to recover the capitol, all swore to "Valerius, not to lay them down, without the consuls "permission; wherefore, we strictly enjoin every soldier, "who took that oath, to appear in arms to-morrow, "at the lake of Regillus." The tribunes cavilled, alledging, "That the oath did not bind the soldiers to "his obedience, who was then only a private gentleman,

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" when the troops took the oath." But the contempt of the Gods, which reigns so triumphant in our days, was at that time quite unknown. In these times, men did not by artful interpretations, contrive to make oaths and laws convenient for their own purposes, but suited their practice to their oaths and to the laws.

The tribunes finding now, that they could not prevent the consuls design, consulted how to delay the army's march from the city: more especially, as it was rumoured, " That the augurs had been enjoined to attend " at the lake of Regillus. That the place was to be " consecrated; where, the auspices once taken, the " consuls might treat with the people, in order to repeal, " by their votes in the Comitia, all laws that had been " extorted at Rome, by the violence of the tribunes. " That there the people would be entirely at the devo- " tion of the consuls: the freedom of appeals did not " extend beyond a mile without the city, and the juris- " diction of the tribunes, being confined to the same " limits, should they go out to the place of rendezvous, " they would also, with the multitude, be subject to the " authority of the consuls."

These considerations appeared terrible, but what struck them most sensibly was, that Quinctius frequently declared, " That he would hold no Comitia for electing " the consuls; that the state was too much distempered " for the application of ordinary remedies: That the " commonwealth stood in need of a dictator, who " would make all disturbers of the peace, feel the weight " of an authority, from which there was no appeal.

CHAP. XXI.

A compromise.—The Tribunes re-elected.

THE senate were at this time assembled in the capitol. Thither ran the tribunes, with the multitude, in a consternation, at their heels. The people, with loud voices, called sometimes upon the consuls, and sometimes upon the fathers, to compassionate their case; but the consul would listen to no intreaties, till the tribunes had promised to abide by what the senate

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ſhould judge fit to be done. Then he reported their petition to the fathers, who thereupon enacted, "That "the tribunes ſhould give no more trouble about their "bill for this year, and that the conſuls ſhould not lead "an army out of the city; moreover, that in the judg-"ment of the ſenate, to continue magiſtrates in their "office, after the expiration of their year, and to re-elect "the ſame tribunes, were unconſtitutional, and dange-"rous to the ſtate." The conſuls ſubmitted to the ſenates award, but the tribunes were re-elected, in ſpite of all the conſuls remonſtrated.

The Patricians, to be even with the plebeians, put Quinctius in nomination for the conſulate: but, on no occaſion, throughout the whole year, did he exert himſelf with more force and vehemence, than in oppoſing the meaſure. "Is it any wonder," ſays he, "conſcript "fathers, that the plebeians make light of your autho-"rity, when you triffle with it yourſelves? Becauſe "the people violate your deciſion, in continuing their "magiſtrates, you want to do ſo too, that you may not "be ſurpaſſed in impropriety, as if the paſsports to pow-"er in the commonwealth, were inconſiſtency and li-"centiouſneſs; for certainly there is more of both, in "counteracting your own decrees, than infringing thoſe "of others. Do you, conſcript fathers, ſet up the head-"ſtrong multitude, as a pattern for your imitation, and "will you, who ought to be an example to others, fol-"low the croud to do evil, rather than engage them to "follow you, by the propriety of your conduct? For "my own part, I am determined, that I ſhall not imi-"tate the tribunes, in contempt of your decree; I will "not ſuffer myſelf to be re-elected conſul; and, I con-"jure you, C. Claudius, to prevent the Roman people "from acting ſo unconſtitutionally: at the ſame time, "be aſſured, that ſo far from taking offence at your "oppoſition, as a bar to my additional honour, I ſhall "always conſider it as a mark of your friendſhip, as en-"hancing my own glory in the proof of my diſinte-"reſtedneſs, and an eſcape from much envy and ſhame, "which the continuation in the conſulſhip, would un-"avoidably draw upon me." Upon this, the fathers iſſued an edict, "Forbidding all perſons to name

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" L. Quinctius, at the next elections for the conſulate; " declaring, that if any did, his vote would not be " admitted."

CHAP. XXII. *The Volſci defeated.*

THE conſuls for this year, were Q. Fabius Vibulanus and L. Cornelius Maluginenſis. This was the third time Fabius had been raiſed to that dignity. There was a Cenſus held this year, but no luſtrum, owing to ſome religious ſcruples about the pollution of the capitol and fall of the conſul Valerius.

In the beginning of this conſulſhip, ſtate clouds quickly gathered. The tribunes ſtill tampered with the people, and advices were brought from the Hernici and Latins, that the Æqui and Volſci were making vaſt preparations for war. The Volſcian legions had already reached Antium; and it was ſtrongly ſuſpected, that the Antiates were meditating a revolt. Beſides, it was with no ſmall difficulty, that the tribunes were prevailed on to ſuffer the progreſs of this war to be ſtoped in time. The conſuls ſhared the provinces between them. It fell to Fabius to march the legions to Antium, while Cornelius ſtayed to guard the city, leſt, according to cuſtom, the Æqui ſhould detach parties to ravage the country. The Hernici and Latins, were ordered to furniſh their reſpective quotas of troops, ſtipulated by treaty, conſequently two-thirds of the army conſiſted of allies, and one of Romans.

Theſe confederates having come up on the day appointed, the conſul encamped without the gate Capena. From thence, after the army had been purified by ſacrifice, he marched to Antium, and encamped in its neighbourhood, not far from the enemy.

The Volſci, as the Æqui had not yet joined them, not daring to riſk a battle alone, thought only of remaining quiet in their camp, and defending themſelves within their works. Next day Fabius drew up his army, not in a body, compoſed promiſcuouſly of allies and citizens, but into three diſtinct battalions of Romans, Latins, and Hernici, each by themſelves, round the enemy's lines. At the head of the Roman infantry, he poſted

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himself in the centre. He then ordered them to observe the signal, that they might keep time to a moment in making the attack, or in retiring, if a retreat should be sounded. The cavalry of each, were posted in the rear of their respective battalions. In this disposition he invested their camp in three different places, and attacking it with spirit on all sides, drove the Volsci, who could not stand the charge from their lines. Then getting immediately over their fortifications, where fear had crouded them together, and cooped them up in a corner, he drove them from their camp. As they fled in the greatest disorder, the cavalry, unable to cross the ditch, and upon that account, only spectators of the action, having them now in the open plain, came in for their share of the glory, by making dreadful havock of them, while they fled in the utmost fright. Many were cut to pieces in the camp, and many in their flight without the lines. The booty was the more considerable, because the enemy had enough to do, if they carried their arms with them, and had not the woods covered their flight, not a man of them would have escaped.

CHAP. XXIII. *The Æqui beat at Tusculum.*

DURING these successes at Antium, the Æqui, having detached the flower of their youth before them, surprised the citadel of Tusculum in the night, and encamped the rest of their army in the neighbourhood, to intercept the enemy's forces. This intelligence coming by express to Rome, and transmitted thence to the camp at Antium, affected the Romans as sensibly, as if they had been told, that the capitol was in the hands of the enemy. The obligations they lay under to the Tusculans, in a similar disaster, were too gratefully remembered, not to command assistance in return. Wherefore, Fabius, having conveyed the booty from the camp to Antium, where he left a small garrison, neglecting every thing else, marched with all expedition to Tusculum, allowing his soldiers to incumber themselves with nothing but their arms, and such provisions as were ready dressed. Cornelius, the other consul, sent them provisions from Rome.

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The campaign before Tuſculum, laſted ſeveral months. With part of the army, Fabius inveſted the enemy's camp, having diſpatched the reſt to aſſiſt the Tuſculans in the recovery of their citadel, which was deemed impregnable by any force. Famine, however, at laſt obliged the enemy to abandon it, who being reduced to the laſt extremity, were by the Tuſculans, obliged to paſs naked and unarmed, under the yoke. The Roman conſul, purſued them in their ſhameful flight, and coming up with them at the Algidus, put every one of them to the ſword.

The victorious conſul led back his army to Columen, for ſo was the place called, where he encamped. Cornelius likewiſe, now that the city was in no danger, the enemy being defeated, marched out of Rome with his army: and the two conſuls entering the enemy's territories, in two different diviſions, contended who ſhould do the greateſt execution, the one in the country of the Volſci, and the other in that of the Æqui. Moſt authors ſeem poſitive, that the Antiates revolted this year, and that they were reduced by L. Cornelius, who took their town. But, I do not chooſe to mention it for a truth, as the more antient hiſtorians are ſilent with reſpect to it.

CHAP. XXIV.

Volſcius impeached for Perjury. The Cenſus finiſhed.

THIS war being over, a contention with the tribunes at home, diſcompoſed the fathers. They exclaimed, that the army was kept in the field by artful manœuvres, with a view to ſtave off the bill; and declared, that nothing ſhould hinder them from going through with what they had undertaken. Nevertheleſs, Lucretius, præfect of the city, prevailed with them, to defer the buſineſs till the arrival of the conſuls.

There aroſe likewiſe, a new ground of contention; A. Cornelius and Q. Servilius, who were at that time quæſtors, appointed M. Volſcius a day to ſtand trial, for manifeſt perjury in his evidence againſt Cæſo. For, from many concurring teſtimonies, it was evident, that

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Volscius's brother, from the time he had been confined to his bed, had never left it, far less been seen abroad; and after he had languished for several months under the disease, it had at last carried him off. Neither was Cæso at Rome, the time condescended on in the indictment; many of his camp companions, affirming, that he had been all that time attending his colours, without ever leaving them; the truth of which, was vouched by many.

But he durst not venture to stand this trial; for, from so many concurring circumstances, the condemnation of Volscius was no more doubted, than Cæso's upon his single testimony. The tribunes however put off the trial, refusing to suffer the Quæstors to hold the Comitia for that purpose, till they were first assembled for enacting the law. Consequently both these points were deferred till the return of the consuls.

When the consuls entered the city in triumph with their victorious army, as no mention was made of the law, it was generally believed that the tribunes were overawed by their presence. But, as the year was near an end, anxious to get themselves elected for the fourth time, they had dropt all disputes about the law, to leave themselves at liberty to canvass for next election. And although the consuls exerted themselves as strenuously to oppose the re-election of the same tribunes, as if a bill had been preferred to curtail their authority, yet in the contest the tribunes prevailed.

This year the Æqui sued for peace, which was granted them; and the census, which had been begun last year, was finished in this. This was the tenth lustration, which had been made since the building of the city. One hundred and thirty-two thousand four hundred and nine citizens were enrolled. The consuls, by their conduct this year, both in peace and war, gained immortal honour; for they made peace with all their neighbours; and the state, though the dæmon of discord, was not totally expelled, was not so much embroiled as in other consulships.

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CHAP. XXV.

New disturbance from the Æqui.

THESE consuls gave way to L. Menucius and C. Nantius, who took under their consideration, the two causes, that lay over undetermined the former year. The consuls would not hear of the law, nor the tribunes of Volscius's trial: but the new Quæstors were men of greater resolution, and more weight. There were in that office, Titus Quinctius Capitolinus, who had been thrice consul, and M. Valerius, the son of Valerius, and grandson of Volscius. Quinctius, since Cæso the pride of the Roman youth, could neither be restored to his family, nor the state, thought it his duty to prosecute the man who had given false evidence against him, and so deprived him of an opportunity of pleading his innocence, as far as law or justice would go.

When Virginius particularly, and the other tribunes were bustling about the law, the consuls were allowed two months to examine it, and explain to the people the mischief latent under it, after which they were to suffer it to be put to the vote. The concession of this respite, produced a general tranquillity all over the city; but it was soon interrupted by the Æqui, who, having broke the treaty they had made with the Romans the year before, had put themselves under the auspices of Gracchus Cloelius, by far the most considerable man in their country. Led on by him, they passed through the Lavican territories, entered the Tusculan, which they ravaged without mercy, and laden with spoil, retired to the Algidus, where they encamped.

Q. Fabius, Publius Volumnius, and A. Posthumius, were sent thither, ambassadors from Rome, to complain of the injuries, and demand restitution, agreeable to treaty. The general of the Æqui in return, ordered them "to deliver their commission from the Roman "senate, to the oak tree; for at present, he had other "business to mind." The oak tree alluded to, was a large one hanging over his tent; and by its branches forming a cool shade. Then one of the ambassadors,

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as he departed, said, "Let this sacred oak, and whatever divinity resides in it, bear witness to your breach of treaty, may they pay more regard to our just complaints, and by and by prosper our arms, when we shall take you to a severe account for your violation of the laws of gods and men."

The moment the ambassadors were returned to Rome, the senate ordered one of the consuls to march with an army to the Algidus, against Gracchus, and the other to lay waste the territories of the Æqui. The tribunes, as usual, opposed the levies at first, and might have done so to the last, but for a fresh and sudden alarm.

CHAP. XXVI.

Minucius besieged in his camp. Cincinnatus created dictator.

A Swarm of Sabines drove like an inundation, ravaging all before them, almost to the walls of Rome. The Roman lands were laid waste, and in the city there was great consternation. The people then chearfully took arms, and in spite of all the remonstrances of the tribunes, two formidable armies were levied. Nautius led one of them against the Sabines, and encamped at Eretum, whence he sent out small detachments, and these generally in the night, by which he committed such terrible devastations, that comparatively speaking, what the Romans had suffered bore no proportion.

But Minucius, in his expedition, had neither the same spirit, nor the same good fortune: for, having encamped not far from the enemy, although he had met with no extraordinary check, he kept within his camp for fear. The enemy, the moment they observed his cowardise, began, as it generally happens, to pull up a prodigious flow of spirits. Thus animated, they attacked his camp in the night, but finding they could make no impression by open force, drew lines round it the next day. Before they had finished their circumvallation, and blocked up every avenue, five horsemen, who had been dispatched on purpose, escaped the vigilance of the

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enemy's sentries, and carried the news to Rome, that the consul and his army were besieged in their camp. This intelligence, of all others, was least expected, or looked for; and the terror and consternation it occasioned at Rome, was much the same, as if the city itself, and not the camp, had been invested.

The consul Nautius, was sent for; but that their only confidence might not be placed in him, they judged it proper to name a dictator, to retrieve their embarrased affairs, and pitched upon L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, with one consent, for that purpose.

It is worth any ones while, who makes light of every thing but riches, and who imagine, that without them, there can be no real greatness,—no virtue, to listen attentively to the following narrative. This same Lucius Quinctius, the prop and stay of the Roman people, lived in the country, on the other side of the Tiber, and cultivated, with his own hands, a small piece of land of four acres, called, the Quinctian meadows, opposite that very place, where the ship-docks now are. The senate's deputies found him there, trenching with the spade, or at plough; at least, one thing is certain, that he was busily employed about his farm. After the usual compliments on both sides were passed, they begged him, "To put on "his gown, and hear the senate's message, praying it "might prove auspicious both to himself and the state. Struck with admiration, he asked them, "If all was "well?" Then turning to his wife Racilia, "Go," says he, "make haste and fetch my gown:" and wiping the dust and sweat from his face, he put it on and rejoined them. The deputies straight saluted him Dictator, with great demonstrations of joy, invited him to the city, and informed him of the critical situation of the army. A barge belonging to the state was waiting to convey him to the city. His three sons, his other relations and friends, and the greatest part of the senators were waiting to receive him at his landing. With this attendance, preceded by the lictors, he was conducted to his house. Crowds of the Plebeians likewise put themselves in his train, although his arrival to them was not over-agreeable; for they thought his authority too extensive, and

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himself too severe in the execution of it. They kept watch in the city all that night.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Dictator marches to the Consuls relief.

THE dictator, next morning, went into the forum, and named for his general of the horse, L. Tarquitius, a Patrician, who had distinguished himself by his bravery above all the Roman youth; but, being too poor to keep a horse, had till then never served but in the infantry. With him he repaired to the assembly, proclaimed a vacation in all judiciary proceedings, ordered the shops throughout the city to be shut up, a suspension of all labour whatever, and all the citizens able to bear arms, to meet him before sun-set, in the field of Mars, with their arms, dressed provisions for five days, and each furnished with twelve stakes for a palisade. Whoever through age, was disqualified for the service, was ordered to dress provisions for the soldier who lived nearest him, whilst he furnished himself with the stakes, and got ready his arms.

In consequence of this order, the youth dispersed themselves up and down in quest of stakes, taking them as they occured, without the least interruption. They all assembled without the least delay, as the dictator had ordered.

The dictator then at the head of the infantry, and his general of horse at the head of the cavalry, led out the troops drawn up, not only for marching, but for action, should occasion require it. Each corps was animated, by arguments drawn from the present emergency. They were requested, "to march with expedition, in "order to come up with the enemy in the night, as the "consul and a Roman army, had now been besieged "for three days. That it was impossible to say what a "day or a night might bring forth, as a single moment "often determined the greatest and most important "event." To gratify their leaders, the soldiers addressing each other, cried out, "March on, ensign; follow, "soldier." About the middle of the night, they arrived at the Algidus, and when they perceived themselves not far from the enemy, gave orders to halt.

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CHAP. XXVIII.

The Conſul relieved, the Æqui beat, and obliged to paſs under the yoke.

THE dictator mounting on horſe-back, rode round the enemy's camp, and examined its form and extent with all the minuteneſs the night would admit; he then ordered the tribunes to cauſe the baggage to be heaped up in one place, and the ſoldiers to return with their arms and ſtakes into their ranks; all which, was inſtantly complied with. He made his army extend itſelf around their camp, in the ſame good order as they had marched, with orders, to throw up a ditch, and fortify it with paliſadoes, and the moment the ſignal ſhould be given, to ſet up a great ſhout altogether. They waited not long for the ſignal, and executed the orders with the utmoſt punctuality. The cry was heard round the enemy on all ſides, and beyond the camp of the Æqui, ſoon reached the conſul's camp, where it ſpread confidence and joy, whilſt it filled the Æqui with conſternation and terror.

The conſul's army, when they heard the ſhouts of their fellow citizens, congratulated each other; and aſſured that relief was at hand, threatened the enemy with their advanced and picquet-guards. "There is "now no time to be loſt," cried the conſul; "the "ſhout we have heard, has not only announced the "arrival of our friends, but that they are already en-"gaged with the enemy. Nay, it would be matter of "wonder, if the enemy's lines are not already attacked "on the out-ſide. To arms, therefore, to arms, and "follow me, ſoldiers." Out ſallied the legions in the night to the attack, and their ſhouts informed the dictator, that the enemy had alſo hot work on the in-ſide.

The Æqui were juſt going to interrupt the works the dictator had begun, to prevent their being ſurrounded, when the alarm from the other ſide, obliged them to turn the beſt part of their ſtrength that way, leſt they ſhould open a way through the heart of their camp;

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and leave the dictator at liberty, for the rest of the night to go on with his works.

The engagement with the consular army, continued till morning, by which time, the dictator had drawn his works quite round them, nor were they quite a match for one of the armies. Then the dictator's troops had no sooner finished their work, than they run to their arms and attacked the enemy's lines.

Here was new work cut out for them, without the least respite from the old, which was still maintained with great vigour, and being at last overpowered by an enemy on each side, they threw down their arms, and begged quarter, on the one side conjuring the dictator, on the other, the consul, not to place victory in the utter destruction of their nation, but to suffer them to depart unarmed. The consul referred them to the dictator, who being highly provoked, ordered them to bring their general, Gracchus Clælius, and their other leaders in chains to him, and immediately to evacuate the city of Corbio; telling them, at the same time, "That he "did not want their blood, he would let them go; but "that by passing under the yoke, they should acknow-"ledge, in the face of the sun, they were now a con-"quered people." This yoke was constructed with three spears, two whereof stood perpendicular to the plain, and the third laid across them, under which, agreeable to the dictator's order, they all passed.

CHAP. XXIX.

Cincinnatus triumphs. Minucius degraded.

HAVING taken the enemy's camp, which was plentifully supplied with stores of every kind, and indeed he had striped them of every thing, he gave all the booty to his own soldiers. To the consul and his army, he gave nothing but a sharp rebuke; telling them. "You shall not, soldiers, who were just about to fall a "prey to your enemies, have any share in their spoils. "And, as for you L. Minucius, till you begin to have "the spirit of a consul, you shall only serve as a lieu-"tenant-general in this army." Minucius abdicated

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the conſulſhip, and continued with the army as he was ordered. So religiouſly was diſcipline obſerved at this time, and ſuch reſpect and ready ſubmiſſion, did people pay to ſuperior merit and ſuperior authority, that the army, leſs affected with the diſgrace they had ſuffered, than the benefit they had received, decreed the dictator a crown of gold, of a pound weight, and at his departure, ſaluted him their preſerver.

The Roman ſenate having been conveened by Fabius, the city præfect, decreed, that Quinctius, with the army he commanded, ſhould enter the city in triumph. The generals of the enemy, walked in chains before his chariot; the enſigns taken from them, were carried before him, and the army loaded with booty, cloſed the proceſſion. Tables were covered at every door, where the ſoldiers ſtoping to regal themſelves, again followed the chariot, making the whole city reſound with ſongs of triumph, and reveling as at their annual feaſts.

The ſame day, by the unanimous conſent of the people, the freedom of Rome, was conferred on L. Mamilius of Tuſculum. Quinctius would have abdicated the dictatorſhip immediately, had it not been for the trial of Volſcius for perjury, which the tribunes would have put off long enough, had not the authority of the dictator been interpoſed. Volſcius was condemned, and afterwards baniſhed, when he retired to Lanuvium. Though Quinctius might have retained his high office for ſix months, he reſigned it on the ſixteenth day after his promotion.

During theſe tranſactions, the conſul Nautius, was carrying all before him at Eretum, againſt the Sabines, whom he had not only diſtreſſed by ravaging their country, but had alſo routed in a general battle. Fabius was ſent to the Algidus, to ſucceed Minucius. In the end of the year, the tribunes began to ſtir again in the affair of the law: but as two armies were abroad, the ſenate carried it, that no bill ſhould be preferred to the people. Nevertheleſs, in the election of tribunes, the commons prevailed, to have the ſame men continued in office, for the fifth time. About this time, it was reported, that wolves had been ſeen in the capitol, and that they

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were driven away by the dogs, for which reaſon it was purified.

CHAP. XXX. *Five added to the college of Tribunes. The Sabines defeated.* A. R. 295.

THESE were the memorable events of the year. The conſular faſces were now transferred to Horatius Pulvillus, and Q. Minucius. The beginning of their adminiſtration was diſturbed by no commotions abroad, but the tribunes and their bill found them ſufficient employment at home; and ſo violent were they on the head, that they would very probably have puſhed it to the utmoſt, if news had not been brought, in the very nick of time, that the Æqui in the night, had ſurprized the Roman garriſon of Corbio, and taken the place by aſſault.

The ſenate aſſembled, and without delay ordered an army to be raiſed and led to the Algidus. Wherefore waving all diſputes about the law for the preſent, the whole buſtle turned upon the levies. Here the commons, ſupported by their tribunes, prevailed over the authority of the conſuls, when they were ſtill more alarmed from another quarter. The Sabines had made a deſcent upon the Roman territory, and were advancing to the walls of the city.

The terror ſtruck by theſe motions had ſuch weight with the tribunes, that they ſuffered the levies to go on, but upon the expreſs condition, that their number ſhould be augmented to ten, becauſe they had been conſtantly baffled for five years ſucceſſively, which was a certain proof that their number was not ſufficient for the protection of the people. The neceſſity of the times obliged the ſenators to comply, but conditionally, that for the future, the ſame tribunes ſhould not be re-choſen. The comitia were immediately held for this new election, for fear, it might not, as they had learned from experience, be put in execution, if delayed till the end of the war.

Thus, in the thirty-ſixth year of the tribunitian power, ten tribunes were created, two out of each claſs, a method obſerved ever after. Troops were then raiſed,

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and Minucius marched to chaſtiſe the Sabines, but found no enemy in the field. The Æqui, having put the garriſon of Corbio to the ſword, and taken Ortona, were attacked by Horatius at the Algidus. Many of them fell in the action, and the reſt driven from the Algidus, and the cities they had taken. Corbio was levelled with the ground, becauſe its inhabitants had betrayed the garriſon.

CHAP. XXXI.

The conſuls fined by the people. A code of laws propoſed.

M. Valerius and Sp. Virginius ſucceeded to the conſulſhip, when Rome enjoyed peace, both at home and abroad; but the rainy ſeaſon brought on a ſcarcity of proviſions. A law was likewiſe paſt for making mount Aventine common. The ſame tribunes were rechoſen, who in the following year, when T. Romilius, and C. Veturius were conſuls, propoſed the law in all their aſſemblies, declaring, they ſhould be aſhamed, now that the number of their college had been doubled, if they ſhould be diſappointed all the two years of their tribunſhip, as their predeceſſors had been for the five laſt years While the tribunes were wholly intent upon this matter, an expreſs arrived from Tuſculum, with the alarming accounts, that the Æqui were already in the heart of their country. The late noble exertions of that people in favour of Rome, challenged an immediate return; for which reaſon both conſuls were diſpatched with an army, who found the enemy, as uſual, encamped at the Algidus. There they were charged with ſuch vigour, that above 7000 fell in the action, and the reſt put to flight.

The ſpoils, which were conſiderable, were ſold by the conſuls, and the proceeds put in the treaſury, as it had been totally drained. This meaſure was very unpopular in the army, and in the end furniſhed the tribunes with materials for cenſuring the conſuls before the people. The moment they were out of office, both had a day appointed for their trial, when Sp. Tarpeius and A. Aterius were conſuls. C. Claudius Cicero, appeared

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as profecutor againſt Romilius, the Ædile; L. Alienus, againſt his colleague Veturius. They were both condemned, which exaſperated the ſenators prodigiouſly. Romilius was fined in 10,000 aſſes, and Veturius in 15,000 braſs aſſes. Notwithſtanding of this example, the ſucceeding conſuls abated nothing of their uſual activity, but ſwore, that were they alſo to be condemned, they would never ſuffer the people and their demagogues to carry the law.

The tribunes then dropping their bill, which had been ſo often tabled, that it was now worn to rags; and aſſuming a milder tone than hitherto, when addreſſing the ſenators, requeſted, "that they would now put an "end to all contention, and ſince Plebeian laws were "diſagreeable to them, that they would ſuffer legiſla-"tors, partly Patricians and partly Plebeians, to be "created, for eſtabliſhing laws for the common benefit, "and common ſecurity of all ranks, in point of liberty." The ſenators made no other objection to this propoſal, but the admiſſion of Plebeians into the number of the legiſlators. When therefore they were agreed upon having laws, the next point to be ſettled was the nomination of thoſe to be put in commiſſion, to make them. Spurius Poſthumius Albus, A. Manlius, P. Sulpitius Camerinus were commiſſioned and ſent to Athens, to copy the celebrated laws of Solon, and to learn the ſtatutes, uſages, and laws of the other ſtates of Greece.

CHAP. XXXII.

The Commiſſioners from Greece returned, and the Decemvirs propoſed for compiling the new laws. A. R. 300.

THE Romans had no longer war to diſturb them all this year, nor in the following conſulſhip of P. Horatius and S. Quinctilius, which was ſtill more remarkable for the conſtant taciturnity of the tribunes, occaſioned by the deputation to Athens, and their expectation of foreign laws; add to this, that they were terribly afflicted with famine and peſtilence, equally deſtructive to man and beaſt. The country became a ſolitude, conſtant burials thinned the city; and many families, ſome of them of the firſt diſtinction, were always

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in mourning. Ser. Cornelius, high prieſt of Romulus, died of the plague; as did C. Horatius Pulvillus, the augur, in whoſe place, the college choſe C. Veturius, the rather becauſe he had been condemned by the people. Quinctilius the conſul, and four of the tribunes fell alſo victims of the plague, ſo that this year was tainted with a prodigious mortality.

In the mean time, they had no diſturbance from foreign enemies. In the next year, in the conſulſhip of P. Seſtius, and T. Menenius, there was no foreign war, but the dæmon of diſcord once more began to rage at home. The commiſſioners were now returned with the Athenian laws, and the tribunes were very urgent, that the great work of compiling a complete code of laws ſhould be immediately entered upon. It was at laſt determined, that ten gentlemen ſhould be delegated to act as ſole magiſtrates for one year; from whoſe authority there ſhould be no appeal. The debates run high for ſome time about admitting Plebeians in the commiſſion. At laſt the ſenate prevailed, under this reſtriction, that neither Icilius's law with reſpect to the Aventine mount, nor the laws relative to the functions and privileges of the tribunes ſhould be repealed.

CHAP. XXXIII.

The beginning of the adminiſtration of the Decemvirs. A diſintereſted inſtance.

THUS in the year 301, after the building of the city, there was a ſecond revolution, the adminiſtration being now transferred from the conſuls to the decemvirs, as it had been in the firſt inſtance, from the kings to conſuls. This laſt revolution was leſs memorable, as it was of a ſhorter duration. The joy that this new form of government diffuſed at firſt was rather extravagant, and upon that account leſs permanent, inſomuch that conſular government, both in name and authority, came ſooner to be in requeſt.

The decemvirs created by the people, were Appius Claudius, T. Genucius, P. Seſtius, L. Veturius, C. Julius, A. Manlius, Ser. Sulpicius, P. Curiatius, T. Ro-

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milius, and Sp. Poſthumius. This compliment was paid to Claudius and Genucius, to balance the conſular faſces to which they had been preferred this year, and to Seſtius, one of the conſuls the preceeding year, becauſe he had brought that affair before the ſenate, though his colleague was entirely againſt it. Next to theſe were named the three commiſſioners, who had been ſent to Athens, as a compliment due to them for their trouble in executing a commiſſion at ſuch a diſtance, at the ſame time it was thought that men acquainted with foreign laws, would be of ſome conſequence in inſtituting a body of laws calculated for their own meridian. Thoſe who ſucceeded in the liſt completed the number; but they who were named laſt, were too old as ſome ſay, to oppoſe with a ſufficient degree of reſolution, the ſentiments of their colleagues.

Appius, by the favour he had acquired among the people, had the modelling of their magiſtracy. For he had ſo far new-modelled his temper, that from being the moſt auſtere Patrician, who croſſed the Plebeians in all their claims and pretenſions, he ſuddenly became a very Poplicola, ſolely intent upon pleaſing the multitude and acquiring their affection.

Each of theſe new magiſtrates, in his turn, adminiſtered juſtice every tenth day, when he had the faſces borne before him; each of the other nine being that day only attended by a ſingle officer *.

The perfect unanimity that prevailed among themſelves, far from being prejudicial to particulars, which is too often the caſe, was attended with the ſtricteſt equity, in regard to all the citizens. We ſhall only mention a ſingle anecdote, as an inſtance of their moderation. By the tenor of their inſtitution, from their judgment, there could be no appeal: yet when a corpſe was detected, and dug up in the houſe of P. Seſtius, by birth a Patrician, and expoſed in the public aſſembly; in a caſe ſo glaring and atrocious, the decemvir, C. Julius, appointed him a day for his trial; and though he was the legal judge himſelf in the cauſe, yet he appeared as the public proſecutor before the people, derogating

* This officer was called Accenſus, *ab accieudo*.

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from his own authority as decemvir, to add to that of the people.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Great satisfaction in the laws and practice of the Decemvirs.

WHILST all ranks were in raptures with an adminiſtration which rendered juſtice with ſo much diſpatch and impartiality, the decemvirs applied themſelves diligently in preparing their code of laws. At length they called an aſſembly of the people, big with expectation, and expoſed to public view, ten tables of laws: and praying, "It might prove beneficial, fortunate, and auſpicious to the ſtate, themſelves and their poſterity, requeſted, they would now read the laws they had propoſed. That they had laboured, to the utmoſt of their capacity, to adapt them to the circumſtances of all ranks, high and low; but the reflections and remarks of the whole body of the people, might make many improvements. They therefore exhorted the people, to examine each article with attention in private, and then communicate to each other their reſpective ſentiments, ſo that they may be prepared to declare in public, what they conceived ſhould be added or retrenched; that in conſequence, the Roman people might have laws, which they could not ſo properly be ſaid to have accepted and confirmed, as to have dictated and compoſed themſelves."

After the people had examined and commented upon every chapter of the laws, and all neceſſary corrections and amendments made, to the ſatisfaction of all concerned, the ten tables were ratified and confirmed in the Comitia by centuries, and are at this day, the foundation of all right, public or private, however much ſyſtems of juriſprudence have been multiplied ſince. It was now ſurmiſed, that ſeveral regulations, which would fill two other tables, ought to be added to the former, in order to make a complete code of Roman laws. This opinion gained ground, and occaſioned a propoſal to continue the decemviral government one year longer: for by that expedient, the people thought they would be delivered

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from the authority of the conſuls, now no leſs odious than that of kings, and they found no occaſion for the protection of their tribunes, ſince the decemvirs allowed cauſes which had been determined by one of them to be reheard by another.

CHAP. XXXV. *Decemvirs choſen a-new.*

THE aſſembly for the election of new decemvirs being fixed twenty-ſeven days after, the canvaſſing for that office, raiſed ſuch a ferment, that the principal men of the ſtate, fearing, no doubt, that an office of ſo great authority, were they not to appear as candidates, might ly open to perſons, by no means worthy of it, uſed all their influence to get themſelves returned in the nomination to a dignity, of the eſtabliſhment whereof, they had been the warmeſt oppoſers, although they now humbly ſolicited the favour of that very people, againſt whom they had contended with ſo much vehemence before.

Appius, ſeeing men ſo reſpectable for their years, who had paſſed through all the dignities of the ſtate, ſo warm in the purſuit of this, began to be ſeriouſly alarmed. It was difficult to ſay, from his behaviour at this time, whether he was then in office, or wanted to be ſo. Only on ſome occaſions, he ſhowed more of the candidate than the decemvir. He ſpoke lightly of the nobility, but the loweſt and moſt contemptible of the competitors he extolled to the ſkies. Strutting in the forum among the Duilii and Julii, his advocates among the people, with whom their influence was very conſiderable. At laſt his colleagues, who till then had been entirely at his devotion, began to mark him more attentively, being at a loſs to unravel the myſtery of his intentions. To them it appeared, that he was all a maſk together. "What!" ſaid they, "is it poſſible, that a man, who inherits all "the pride of the Claudian family, ſhould all at once "degenerate into ſuch ſervile obſequiouſneſs, without "views of the moſt intereſted kind? To deſcend ſo "much from his ſtatelineſs;—to put himſelf ſo much "under reſtraint;—and to mingle in the face of the "ſun, with private perſons, had not the appearance

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" that he was in haſte to abdicate, but rather, that " he was purſuing every plan, to be continued in his " office."

They durſt not, however, oppoſe his ambitious views in a direct manner, but they endeavoured to counterplot him by a feigned compliance. As the youngeſt among them, by one conſent, they chooſed him to preſide in the aſſembly at the general election. The deſign of this was, to put it out of his power to put himſelf upon the liſt, a thing quite unprecedented, except among the tribunes, and even then, conſidered as an inſtance of the groſſeſt impropriety. However, he declared he would hold the Comitia, which he hoped would prove fortunate, and turned the obſtacles laid in his way into the means of ſucceſs. For, having by his intrigues got the two Quinctii ſet aſide, with Capitolinus, Cincinnatus his uncle, C. Claudius, a man, who had ſhown himſelf always in the intereſt of the nobility, and other citizens of the ſame diſtinction, he created men decemvirs, who were their inferiors in every reſpect; having, moreover, put himſelf firſt in nomination, a circumſtance, that to every good man, appeared ſo ſhameful, that nobody imagined he would have carried his impudence to ſo extraordinary an height. The other nine were M. Cornelius Maluginenſis, M. Sergius, L. Minucius, Q. Fabius Vibulanus, Q. Pœtelius, T. Antonius Merenda, Cæſo Duilius, Sp. Oppius Cornicen, M. Rabuleius.

CHAP. XXXVI. *Villany of the Decemvirs.* A. R. 303.

HERE Appius threw off the maſk: from this date, he began to act more conſiſtently with his real character, and took care, that his new colleagues, even before they entered upon office, ſhould all be formed upon his own model. They had private meetings every day, in which they concerted ſchemes of tyranny, which they concealed from all mankind, and now far from diſſembling their pride, they became acceſſible to few, and even thoſe, they treated with the utmoſt reſerve, till the ides of May; at that time, the uſual term of entering upon office. The very firſt day, they made

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their official parade, filled the whole city with terror and consternation. They appeared in the forum, each with twelve lictors before him, whereas their predecessors had observed this rule, that only one should have the fasces at a time, which passed in rotation through them all, to each of them regularly in his turn. One hundred and twenty lictors now filled the forum, carrying axes tied up in their fasces. Nor did they think themselves obliged to withdraw the axes, since by the decemviral constitution, there was no appeal from their judgment. They had the appearance of ten kings, which not only filled the minds of the populace with uncommon terror, but damped the principal senators not a little, from a persuasion, that they only wanted a pretence to lay the foundation of their authority in blood. For, should any one, either in the senate, or assemblies, utter a syllable, serving to revive the remembrance of liberty, he would run the risk of his skin, and perhaps his head, to intimidate others from using the same freedom.

The right of appeal to the people, was taken away, so that no relief could be expected from that quarter; and matters had been so concerted among the decemvirs, that one of them would not receive an appeal from the decision of another, which was very different from the practice of last year, when they not only suffered appeals to one another, but also transferred causes to the judgment of the people, that properly belonged to their own tribunal. For some time they were equally formidable to all ranks; but by degrees, the whole weight of their power began to be pointed against the populace.

They spared the Patricians, whilst their schemes against those of lower rank, were cruel and oppressive; regarding the person, not the justice of the cause, interest with them constantly supplanting equity. They advised all causes at home, and only pronounced sentence in the forum. In cases of appeals, the appellant was handled so roughly, that he had reason to repent of his application for a new verdict. A report too began to be spread, though no author was given, that they had conspired among themselves, not only to exercise their tyranny for the present, but had entered secretly into a compact, which they had confirmed by oath,

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never to call a new election, but now that they were once in poſſeſſion, to make their authority perpetual.

CHAP. XXXVII.

The Decemvirs introduce licentiouſneſs.

THEY then began to turn their eyes towards the Patricians, to ſee if poſſibly they could diſcover any hope of liberty from thoſe, from whom, they had before apprehended ſlavery, the dread of which, had precipitated the commonwealth into this deplorable condition. The principal ſenators deteſted the decemvirs, but did not love the plebeians. They were far from approving of the preſent proceedings, but they thought the people only met with their deſerts. Wherefore, they were in no haſte to relieve thoſe, who through a blind paſſion for liberty, had plunged themſelves into ſlavery: nor were they ſorry to ſee their chains grow every day more heavy, in hopes that a feeling of their miſeries, might awaken in them a deſire of the re-eſtabliſhment of conſuls, and the antient form of government.

The greater part of the year was already paſt, when two tables of laws were drawn up to be added to the tenth, as had been promulgated the year before: and there now remained no pretext for continuing themſelves in the decemvirate, ſo that the ides of May, were expected with the utmoſt anxiety and impatience, when an aſſembly ſhould be held for the election of conſuls.

How the tribunitian power, the bulwark of plebeian liberty, after the interruption it had met with, was to be reſumed, was matter of great ſpeculation to the people. In the mean time, not a ſyllable was mentioned of a new election, and the decemvirs, who at firſt had been attended by the tribunes, more effectually to gain the people, were accompanied now by a band of young Patricians, who appeared in their retinue as a guard, and conſtantly ſurrounded their tribunals, harraſſing and plundering the people; inſomuch, that whatever occured worth having, became the perquiſite of the ſtrongeſt arm. Nay, they did not ſpare the perſons of the

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citizens; some were whipped with rods like slaves, whilst others perished by the axe like criminals: and, that cruelty might not go unrewarded, a confiscation of estate, immediately followed the murder of the proprietor. The young nobility debauched by this sort of gain, not only connived at these scenes of injustice, but openly preferred a life of licentiousness to public liberty.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

The Sabines renew the war. The Decemvirs at a loss.

THE ides of May came, and not the least appearance of any comitia, for an election of new magistrates. The tyrants then, who were in fact but private persons, shewed themselves bare-faced and retained their authority, without any other title but rapine and violence. This was a manifest usurpation of regal tyranny. Every one deplored in secret the loss of liberty, but not one in the whole republic, had the spirit to attempt to break her chains. The Roman people now seemed to have lost all courage, and the nations who had submitted to their dominion, began now to despise them, as disdaining to be subject to a state, whose liberty subsisted no longer.

The Sabines, in formidable parties, dispersed themselves over the Roman territories, and having made a great booty in prisoners and cattle, collected their scattered forces, and encamped at Eretum, placing all their hopes in the anarchy at Rome, which they imagined, would be an effectual bar to the levies.

The news of these disasters, were confirmed by the peasants who fled from the neighbourhood, and spread terror through the whole city. The decemvirs now deliberated upon the measures proper to be taken, and whilst the hatred of the senate and people, had shut every door of resource against them, one storm followed close on the back of another. The Æqui on the other side, were encamped at the Algidus. Messengers were dispatched from Tusculum to Rome, with advices that detachments from their army, were ravaging the Tusculan territories, at the same time, requesting assistance. These accounts

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threw the decemvirs into the utmoſt conſternation, ſeeing themſelves obliged, amidſt the dread of two wars, of neceſſity to aſſemble the ſenate. They, therefore, gave orders, to cite the fathers to aſſemble in the ſenate-houſe, at the ſame time, that they well knew what a torrent of reproaches they had to encounter: they were not ignorant, that the ravages of the country, and all the misfortunes that threatened the ſtate, would be ſtated to their account. They forſaw, that an attempt would then be made, to wreſt their authority from them, if they did not with united vigour oppoſe it, and make examples of all who ſhould preſume to enter the liſts againſt them.

When the voice of the herald was heard in the forum, ſummoning the ſenators to meet the decemvirs in the ſenate-houſe, the people were quite aſtoniſhed, ſo great a novelty was it now to conſult the ſenate, that cuſtom having been long diſcontinued. "What can be the "matter now," ſaid they, "that they revive a practice "ſo long out of date? We have our enemies and the "war to thank, for ſeeing the leaſt veſtage of our an-"cient liberty in the city." They looked round the forum in every part for ſenators, but few or none appeared. From thence they repaired to the ſenate-houſe, where nothing appeared around the decemvirs, but empty ſpace, which the uſurpers themſelves aſcribed to an averſion at their government, and the people, to a contempt of their authority; who, as private perſons, had no right to call a ſenate. This, they concluded, was an opening for the admiſſion of liberty, provided the commons would go hand in hand with the ſenate, and mind the ſummonds for enrollment, as little as the ſenators had done the proclamation for holding a ſenate.

Such were the private ſentiments of the Plebeians. There was ſcarce any of the ſenators to be ſeen in the forum, and very few in the city. Shocked at the preſent adminiſtration, they had retired into the country, where, ſince they could be of no ſervice to the public, they might look after their private affairs; perſuaded, that the farther they were removed from the meetings and aſſemblies of thoſe tyrannical monſters, the more

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they were out of harms way. When they did not obey the citation, officers were ſent round to their dwelling-houſes, to diſtrain their effects, and to enquire whether they had abſented themſelves on purpoſe? The officers reported that the ſenators were in the country, which gave much more pleaſure to the decemvirs, than if they had been told, that the fathers were in town, but would not acknowledge their authority. They were all ordered to be ſent for, and the meeting was adjourned till the next day, when it was more numerous than the decemvirs themſelves expected, which damped the people not a little, as imagining the cauſe of liberty abandoned by the fathers, ſince they had ſubmitted to the authority of thoſe, who ought to have been out of office; as if they had had a legal title to compell them, who, but for the violence of their meaſures, would be only private perſons.

CHAP. XXXIX.

The Decemvirs are told their real character.

BUT it ſeems they ſhowed more ſubmiſſion in coming to the houſe, than they did in delivering their opinions. For it is reported of Valerius Potitus, that after Appius Claudius had opened the cauſe of their meeting, and before it came to his turn to give his opinion, he ſtood up and demanded to be heard relative to the ſtate of the Republic. The decemvirs ſternly ordered him to ſit down, and hold his peace, but he declared he would go out and lay the matter before the people, which raiſed a terrible ſtorm. M. Horatius Barbatus alſo entered very warmly into the diſpute, and loudly called them "ten Tarquins, the tyrants of their "country; at the ſame time, reminding them in direct "terms, that the Valerii and Horatii were at the head "of the party, that expelled the kings. It was not the "regal title that gave them uneaſineſs at that time: "for there could be no harm in a title which was given "to Jupiter; which Romulus, their founder, and his "ſucceſſors had enjoyed, and to this day retained "in religious rites and ſolemnities. But it was the

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"pride and tyranny of a king which they abhorred; "and if theſe in a ſovereign or prince of the blood were "intolerable, where is the man that would tamely "bear them in ten private perſons? Have a care then, "ſays he, leſt by reſtraining the liberty of ſpeech in this "houſe, you draw not on yourſelves a more ſevere "commentary without doors. I can ſee no more impro-"priety in my calling an aſſembly of the people, when "inveſted with no authority, than in your convening "the ſenate, when diveſted of all authority. Only put "it to the teſt, and you will then ſee to your coſt, whe-"ther the people's zeal in aſſerting their liberty, or "your ambition to maintain your uſurped authority, "will be moſt ſtrenouſly exerted. You talk to us of a war "begun againſt us by the Sabines, as if the Roman "people had a war more formidable than with you, "who under the maſk of legiſlators, have ſubverted all "law and juſtice in the Republic. You have ſuppreſ-"ſed the aſſemblies both of the ſenate and people; you "have aboliſhed annual magiſtrates, the right of elec-"tion and governing by turns, the only method which "is conſiſtent with liberty, and tho' but private perſons, "aſſume the enſigns and the power of deſpotiſm. Up-"on the expulſion of the kings, there were only Patri-"cian magiſtrates; after the ſeceſſion, Plebeian ma-"giſtrates were alſo created; pray, with which of theſe "intereſts are you connected? Is it with that of the "people? What then have you done with their con-"currence? Are you in the Patrician intereſt? And yet "for very near twelve months have never convened the "ſenate, and now that you have done it, pretend to "debarr them the priviledge of ſpeaking concerning "the ſtate of the Republic? Truſt not, I adviſe you, "too much to our want of courage; for we are now "convinced that our preſent oppreſſion within the city, "is more intolerable than any thing we have to fear "without it."

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CHAP. XL.

Cornelius Maluginenſis vindicates the Decemvirs.

HORATIUS having thus expreſſed himſelf with great vehemence, while the decemvirs could neither give vent to their fury, nor calmly put up with the treatment they had met with, being quite uncertain how the affair would terminate; C. Claudius, uncle to Appius the decemvir, roſe up to ſpeak, but he employed rather intreaties than reproach, conjuring his nephew, by the manes of his brother Appius, the decemvir's father, "To conſider rather the natural obligation by "which he was bound to the country that gave him "birth, than the wicked and unjuſt compact he had en- "gaged himſelf in, with his colleagues: That however "much he was concerned for the ſtate, it was ſtill more "for his own ſake he made him that requeſt. For he "might depend on it, the Republic would compell them "to reſtore its rights, ſhould they be obſtinate enough "to refuſe it: But as great conteſts were generally pro- "ductive of much ill blood, he ſhuddered at the thoughts "at what the event might be."

However much the decemvirs were determined that there ſhould be no opinion delivered, but upon the ſubject of their meeting, yet they were aſhamed to interrupt Claudius, who therefore gave his opinion that the ſenate ſhould by no means paſs a decree; which was declaring in plain terms, that he viewed the decemvirs in no other light but that of private perſons. Many conſular gentlemen declared themſelves of the ſame opinion.

There was another opinion, in appearance, ſtill more harſh; but in effect, leſs concluſive, *viz.* that the Patricians ſhould meet to chooſe an Inter-rex. For, by this ſtate of the vote, they who held the ſenate were acknowledged as magiſtrates; but by the other, which declared for no decree, they were made private perſons. The intereſt of the decemvirs being now viſibly on the decline, Lucius Cornelius Maluginenſis, brother to M. Cornelius the decemvir, who had been reſerved on purpoſe to deliver his opinion the laſt of all the conſular

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gentlemen, ſtood up for his brother and his colleagues, by pretending a mighty concern for the war. "He was "ſurprized, he ſaid, by what fatality, men, who them- "ſelves had been candidates for the decemvirate, or "partners in it, ſhould above all others be ſo keen in "their oppoſition to the decemvirs? And how it came "about, that during many months, when all was quiet, "nobody made the leaſt objection to the juſtice of their "title, who then acted as ſupreme magiſtrates, till now "that the enemy is near our gates, that they want to "involve us in domeſtic broils; if it be not, that they "imagine, their real deſigns will be better concealed in "the confuſion. But it was extremely proper, while "they had matters of the greateſt conſequence before "them, that conſiderations leſs weighty ſhould be poſt- "poned, till theſe be once diſcuſſed. With reſpect to "the charge brought againſt the decemvirs by Valerius "and Horatius, that their authority had expired on the "ides of May; he was of opinion, that the moment the "wars with which they were threatned ſhould be brought "to a concluſion, and peace once more reſtored to the re- "public, the ſenate ſhould take that matter under con- "ſideration; whilſt Appius in the meantime ſhould be "preparing for his defence, being ſenſible he muſt an- "ſwer for thoſe comitia, which in his firſt decemvirate "he had held for the election of new decemvirs, that "the ſenate might judge with preciſion, whether their "office was to continue for one year only, or till ſuch "laws as were then wanted, ſhould be completed. At pre- "ſent it was his own opinion, that the war was the on- "ly object they ought to have in view. If they thought "themſelves impoſed on by a falſe alarm, both by the "meſſengers and Tuſculan deputies, it was their buſi- "neſs to come at the certainty by ſending out ſcouts to "make the ſtricteſt enquiry. But if they ſaw no reaſon "to treat with diffidence the intelligence they had re- "ceived, a moment ſhould not be loſt in levying the "army, which the decemvirs ſhould lead out againſt "the enemy, where they might ſee proper; and pre- "viouſly to all other things, this ought to be done."

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CHAP. XLI.

The Decemvirs carry the point for the preſent.

THE young Patricians ſupported this opinion with all their might, and it paſſed by a plurality of voices. Valerius and Horatius then roſe a ſecond time with greater warmth than ever, crying aloud, "That "they wanted to ſpeak relative to the ſtate of the Re- "public; declaring, at the ſame time, that if the power "of faction ſhould compell them to ſilence in the ſenate, "they would immediately go out and addreſs themſelves "to the people. That private perſons had no power "to ſhut *their* mouths either in the ſenate, or an aſſem- "bly of the people; nor would they regard their ima- "ginary faſces, and pretended authority."

Appius now finding matters come to that paſs, that if he did not oppoſe impudence on his part, to ſpirit on theirs, there would be an end of decemviral authority: "You had better be ſilent," ſays he, "than drop a "ſingle word deviating from the queſtion, upon which "we aſk your advice." When Valerius refuſed to be awed into ſilence by a mock magiſtrate, Appius ordered a lictor to ſeize him. Valerius then, from the porch of the ſenate-houſe, called out to the Romans for aſſiſtance, but L. Cornelius took Appius in his arms, not out of regard to Valerius, as he pretended, which put an end to the diſpute. By this interpoſition of Cornelius, Valerius was at liberty to ſpeak his ſentiments; but as this liberty extended only to words, the decemvirs ſtill gained their point. Moreover, the conſular gentlemen, and elder ſenators, from an averſion to tribunitian power, which was not yet eradicated, as they ſaw the people more attached to it than to conſular government, rather wiſhed that the decemvirs ſhould afterwards reſign their office uncompelled, than that the people, from their abhorrence to decemvirs, ſhould get head again. For ſhould the government, without a buſtle, or popular commotion, return into the hands of conſuls, it was not impoſſible, but either by the intervention of wars, or a mild exerciſe of the conſular government, the people might be brought to think no more of their tribunes.

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Thus was an edict iſſued for levying an army, without farther interruption from the fathers; and as there had been no appeal from the decemviral authority, the younger citizens anſwered to their names. After the enrollment was finiſhed, the decemvirs concerted among themſelves who ſhould go out to the war, and who ſhould head the armies.

Q. Fabius and Appius Claudius were at the head of the decemvirs; and as there appeared more danger from the citizens at home, than the enemies abroad, they thought Appius, from the violence of his temper, was beſt calculated to quell any commotions that might ariſe in the city. The diſpoſition of Fabius prompted him rather to be active in a bad cauſe, than ſteady in a good one. For ſo prevalent had the influence of his colleagues in the decemvirate been on Fabius, who formerly had acted with great propriety, both in peace and in war, that he now thought it a greater honour to be thought like Appius, than like his former ſelf. He had the management of the Sabine war aſſigned him, in which commiſſion, Man. Rabuleius and Q. Pœtilius were joined. M. Cornelius was ſent to the Algidus, with L. Minucius, T. Antonius, Cæſo Duilius, and M. Sergius. Sp. Oppius was appointed to aſſiſt Appius in defending the city; and for that purpoſe, they were left equally inveſted with the whole extent of decemviral authority.

CHAP. XLII.

Ill conduct of the Roman armies.

THE republic ſuffered no leſs by miſmanagement abroad, than at home. The generals were indeed no otherwiſe to blame, than in having rendered themſelves odious to the citizens: for, in all other reſpects, the ſoldiers were totally culpable. For, that nothing might ſucceed under the direction and management of the decemvirs, they ſuffered themſelves to be beat, to their own diſgrace, and that of their commanders. Their armies were routed by the Sabines at Eretum, and by the Æqui at the Algidus. The army at Eretum, took the opportunity of the darkneſs of

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night, to make their escape to a rising ground nearer the city, between Fidenæ and Crustumeria, where they immediately threw up entrenchments. Thither the enemy pursued them, but could never bring them to a battle on fair ground, as they chused rather to trust to their situation and ramparts, than to their valour and arms.

The army at the Algidus, behaved still worse, and in consequence received a more terrible overthrow: for, having lost their camp, and deprived of all their military accoutrements, they made the best of their way to Tusculum, trusting for subsistence and protection, to the fidelity and generosity of their allies, in which they were by no means disappointed. Rome was so alarmed with these dreadful accounts, that the senators, without minding their hatred to the decemvirs, passed a vote, that guards should patrole the city, and that all who were capable of bearing arms, should be posted to guard the walls and the gates. They likewise decreed, that the troops at Tusculum should be reinforced, and a supply of arms sent them; besides, they ordered the decemvirs to leave the citadel, and encamp the troops in the open plain, whilst the army at Fidenæ, should march into the Sabine territories, that by carrying the war into the enemy's country, they might be diverted from all thoughts of attacking Rome.

CHAP. XLIII. *Base treatment of Siccius.*

BESIDES these calamities inflicted by the enemy, there were two very enormous actions committed by the decemvirs, the one in the camp, and the other in the city. In the army sent against the Sabines, L. Sicius, instigated by his aversion to the decemvirs, had in private conferences with the soldiers, mentioned the expediency of creating tribunes and making a secession, for which reason, he was sent before the army by the generals, to look out for a place proper for their camp. The soldiers who attended him in this expedition, had secret orders, whenever they had got to a convenient place, to fall upon Siccius, and dispatch him.

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He ſold his life dear. For, being ſtrong and vigorous, he made a noble reſiſtance; and though ſurrounded by the aſſaſſins, he defended himſelf with a courage equal to his ſtrength, ſo that ſome of the ruffians lay dead around him. The ſurvivors returned to the camp, where they reported, that Siccius had inconſiderately fallen into an ambuſcade, and that he had loſt his life, fighting valiantly, as did alſo ſome of the party. This account of the matter was at firſt believed; but afterwards, when, by permiſſion of the decemvirs, a cohort was detached to bury the dead; and finding, on their arrival, none of the bodies ſtript, Siccius lying in the middle in his armour, all the dead with their faces towards him, not an enemy among them, nor any veſtige of their leaving the place, they brought back his corpſe, affirming, that Siccius had not been killed by the enemy, but by his own party. The indignation of the army was inconceivable. They were determined to carry the body forthwith to Rome, had not the decemvirs prevented them by haſtening to bury him, at the public charge, with all the honours of war. The ſoldiers accompanied his funeral in tears, and openly threw out the bittereſt invectives againſt the decemvirs.

CHAP. XLIV. *The Villainy of Appius.*

THE other act of villainy, originated in a criminal paſſion, was perpetrated in the city, as deplorable in the event, as the rape and murder of Lucretia, which expelled the Tarquins, both from the city and kingdom; that the laſt blow to the power of the decemvirs, might not only be ſimilar to that of the kings, but that their cataſtrophe might proceed from the ſame kind of cauſe. Appius Claudius was ſtruck with the charms of a plebeian beauty, and thought of nothing but the means of gratifying his criminal deſires. Her father, L. Virginius, held an honourable poſt in the army at the Algidus, and beſides was much reſpected as a man of integrity and courage. His wife's principles had been ſtrictly virtuous, and his childrens education was completely ſo.

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He had promiſed her in marriage to L. Icilius, who had been a tribune, a man of ſpirit, and had given proofs of his courage, in the cauſe of the commons.

Deeply impreſſed with the exquiſite beauty, and the blooming graces of youth, he diſcovered in this fair one, Appius attempted to make his way, by means of preſents and fair promiſes: But, finding that her virtue was proof againſt theſe arts, he reſolved to have recourſe to force, however cruel and inſolent it might appear. Thinking he never could have a better opportunity to execute his wicked purpoſes, than when her father was abſent, he ordered M. Claudius, a creature of his own, to claim her as his ſlave; and by no means to leave her at liberty, upon bail, till the cauſe ſhould be determined.

This miniſter of the decemvir's pleaſures, laid hold of her as ſhe was going into the forum, where ſchools were kept in a kind of ſhops, and calling her his ſlave, as having been born of one of his bond-women, deſired her to follow him immediately, otherwiſe he would oblige her to do ſo by force. The poor girl was ſtruck with amazement, and trembled with fear; but her governeſs raiſing a great cry, imploring the aſſiſtance of the people, brought a great croud about them.

The names of her father, Virginius, and of Icilius, her intended huſband, were heard on all ſides. Regard to them, brought their acquaintances to the place, and the ſcandal of the action, engaged the moſt indifferent in her quarrel. This ſecured her againſt violence.—The claimant then cried out, that there was no occaſion for ſo much noiſe, for force was entirely out of the queſtion with him, ſince the uſual ſteps of law were open to him; and immediately cited her before the magiſtrate, whether, by the advice of thoſe about her, ſhe followed him.

When they came to Appius's tribunal, the plaintiff opened his claim to the judge, in a ſtory with which he was previouſly acquainted, having himſelf inſtructed him in the plan of proſecution. He ſaid, that Virginia was born in his houſe, whence ſhe had been ſtolen and carried to Virginius's, where ſhe paſſed for his daughter. This, he inſiſted, he would prove, by inconteſtible evidence, to which, were Virginius judge, who had been

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the greateſt ſufferer, he could have nothing to object. In the mean time, it was but reaſonable, that the girl ſhould follow her maſter. The council, for the young lady, pleaded, that ſeeing Virginius was abroad in the ſervice of his country, and might, if he were adviſed, be preſent within two days, it was unfair, in his abſence, to raiſe any diſpute about his children; and inſiſted, that judgment ſhould be ſuſpended, till Virginius ſhould be preſent. And agreeable to the law made by Appius himſelf, ſhe ſhould be allowed to continue in the poſſeſſion of her freedom, till a diſinitive ſentence in the caſe; that being a virgin, arrived at maturity, ſhe might not run the riſk of her honour, before ſhe had loſt her liberty.

CHAP. XLV. *Appius is oppoſed by Icilius.*

APPIUS, previouſly to his paſſing ſentence, told them, "That the law which had been cited by "the friends of Virginia, was a proof of his zeal for "liberty; but it could only be a protection to liberty, "when the perſons and circumſtances anſwer the de-"ſcription. For, with reſpect to thoſe who are claimed "as free, though reputed ſlaves, the plea is tenable, "becauſe the law is open to every man. But, as far as "the ſubject in queſtion was in the poſſeſſion of a father, "to him alone was the plaintiff obliged to yield the re-"tention." Wherefore, he decreed, "That the father "ſhould be ſent for; and that the plaintiff's right, in "the mean time, might not ſuffer, he might take home "the girl to his houſe, on condition, that he ſhall pro-"duce her in court, when her reputed father ſhall "appear."

Though many were ſhocked at the injuſtice of this ſentence, yet nobody ventured to ſpeak out, till her uncle, Numitorius, and Icilius her intended huſband, came into court. The croud opened to receive them, imagining, eſpecially after Icilius appeared, that Appius's decree would not be put in execution.

But a lictor proclaimed, "That ſentence was paſt;" and puſhed back Icilius, who complained loudly of the injuſtice done him. So injurious a treatment, would

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have provocked patience itself.—"You must remove me "from hence, Appius," said he, "with the sword, if "you would stifle the knowledge of your infamous de- "signs. I am to marry this young lady; but I am to "marry her chaste and a virgin. Therefore, assemble "all your lictors, and if you please, those of your col- "leagues too; let them have all their rods and axes "ready, but Icilius's bride shall not stay out of her "father's house. No! though you and your colleagues "have deprived the Romans of the protection of their "tribunes, and the right of appeal, the two pillars of "their liberty, we are not yet so degenerate, as to suffer "our wives and children to become the victims of your "brutal lust. Go on to scourge and tyrannize over our "persons; but let chastity and innocence escape your "violence. Should any violence be offered to this "young lady, in behalf of my bride, I will implore the "assistance of the Romans here assembled; Virginius "will implore the aid of his fellow-soldiers, for his only "daughter; in short, we will beg assistance from every "body, and implore both Gods and men. You shall "never put this sentence in execution, till I am num- "bered among the dead. Wherefore, let me intreat "you, Appius, to consider well what you do, and to "weigh the consequences. When Virginius comes, he "will see what is the most proper steps to be taken, with "respect to his daughter. Let him only be told, with "a certification, that if he yields to this scoundrel's "claim, I have no more to say to his daughter. With "respect to myself, as long as I have life, I will retain "the courage and constancy, with which a generous "passion for my bride's liberty and honour, justly in- "spire me."

CHAP. XLVI. *Appius's Decree.*

THE whole multitude were in great emotion, and ready to proceed to the utmost extremities. The lictors came round Icilius; but they proceeded only to threats. Then Appius spoke to this effect: "The spirit "which Icilius discovers, upon this occasion, is not "exerted in defence of Virginia, but naturally turbulent,

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" and full of the pride and violence of the tribune, he " makes that a pretext for exciting a tumult; but, for " the preſent, I am reſolved to diſappoint him. At the " ſame time, I would have him to know, that it is not " on account of his inſolence, but of the abſence of " Virginius, and a tender regard to the name of father " and to liberty, that I will defer judgment, and not " put my decree in force for this day. I will prevail " upon Claudius, to give up ſomewhat of his right, in " permitting the girl to remain in liberty till next day: " But, ſhould Virginius fail to appear to-morrow, I " certify to Icilius, and all ſuch ſeditious perſons, that " they will find reſolution in a decemvir and legiſlator, " to inforce his own decrees. Nor ſhall I have occaſion " for my colleague's lictors, my own will be ſufficient, " to chaſtiſe the inſolence of the turbulent and ſe- " ditious."

The time for perpetrating this act of villainy being thus put off, and the council for the defendant retired, they firſt of all reſolved, inſtantly to diſpatch Icilius's brother and Numitorius's ſon, two active young men, to the gates, to bring Virginius from the camp with all expedition, for the preſervation of his daughter, depended entirely upon his being preſent exactly at the appointed time. They ſet out as directed, and poſting it all the way, carried the news to Virginius.

In the mean time, the plaintiff inſiſted, that Icilius ſhould give ſecurity for producing her in court. Icilius told him, that he was juſt then about it, deſignedly ſpinning out the time, till the meſſengers diſpatched to Virginius, had made ſome progreſs in their journey; the people all around held up their hands, every one offering eagerly to be ſurety for Icilius. Touched with the affection of his fellow-citizens, Icilius burſt into tears, while he returned them thanks. " To-morrow," ſaid he, " I will make uſe of your aſſiſtance; to-day we have " abundance of ſecurities." Thus was Virginia ſet at liberty, her relations having given bail to preſent her. Appius, to avoid ſuſpicion, that he had ſat in judgment on account of this cauſe alone, did not leave his tribunal directly; but as no other cauſe was called, Virginia having ſo much engroſſed the public attention, that no

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body applied to him; he returned home, and wrote to his colleagues in the camp, intreating, "They would "give no leave of abſence to Virginius, but on the con- "trary, lay him under arreſt."

This wicked advice, deſervedly came too late; for, Virginius having obtained a furlow, had ſet out by the firſt watch in the night, whereas the letters for detaining him, were only delivered next morning early, when he was out of their reach.

CHAP. XLVII. *The Oppoſition to the Decree.*

VIRGINIUS arrived at Rome by break of day, where he was eagerly expected by the people, already aſſembled in the forum. Virginius, clad in mourning, led his daughter into the forum, in a tattered gown, accompanied by ſeveral matrons, and many friends. As he paſſed along, he ſolicited the favour of all with an air of dignity, that ſeemed to *demand* their aſſiſtance, rather than to *implore* it. He told them, "That upon no "occaſion, had he been backward in expoſing himſelf "to danger, when the ſafety of their wives and children "required it; nor could any man in Rome, recount a "greater number of great and gallant actions than him- "ſelf. But what did the nobleſt exertions ſignify to "ſave the city, if our tyrants exerciſe upon our children "at home, all the violence that can be dreaded in a city "taken by aſſault?" He went round the aſſembly harranguing them to this purpoſe; and Icilius ſpoke to the people in much the ſame ſtrain. But the ſilent tears of the women who accompanied them, ſpoke with more feeling, than any words could expreſs. In ſpite of all which, Appius, who had ſteeled his heart, now rather diſtracted with an extravagant madneſs, than overcome with a ſofter paſſion, mounted his tribunal. The plaintiff then remonſtrating, "That ſentence ought to have "paſſed in his favour the day before, had it not been "out of complaiſance to the people;" before he could proceed, or Virginius make any anſwer, Appius interfered. The preamble, with which he opened his decree, may be juſtly enough taken down by antient authors; but, as I can find none that appears even probable, con-

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ſidering the unaccountable nature of the ſentence itſelf, I ſhall content myſelf with the bare words of the decree, ſince ſo much is certain.

"He adjudged her to be a ſlave." The injuſtice of this ſentence, ſurpriſed and confounded all preſent.—For ſome time there was an univerſal ſilence. But when M. Claudius went to ſeize Virginia, ſurrounded by a croud of matrons, he was received with doleful wailings, and Virginius ſhaking his fiſt in the face of Appius, cried out, "It was to Icilius, not to thee, Appius, I promiſed "my daughter. To honourable marriage I have "brought her up, and not for the brutal paſſion of an "infamous raviſher. What! is the lawleſs and pro-"miſcuous luſt of wild beaſts to be introduced amongſt "us? How the citizens here will bear this, I will not "pretend to ſay, but I hope thoſe who are in arms will "never endure it." The claimant was repulſed by the croud of women, and friends that ſtood round Virginia, when ſilence was proclaimed by a herald.

CHAP. XLVIII.

Virginius ſtabs his Daughter, to ſave her virtue.

THE decemvir, now intoxicated with his criminal paſſion, told them, "That he had ſufficient "reaſon to ſuſpect, from Icilius's invectives yeſterday, "and Virginius's inſolence to-day, whereof the Roman "people had been witneſſes, that they only ſought to "excite a tumult; but that was not all, for he had got "certain information, that they had been forming ca-"bals in the city all the night long, for that purpoſe: "That, therefore, being appriſed of the deſign, he had "not come thither without a guard. Not that he "meant to give the leaſt trouble to thoſe who were "peaceably diſpoſed, but to keep thoſe in awe, in vir-"tue of his office, who ſhould dare to interrupt the "peace of the city. For which reaſon, they had better "make no further diſturbance. Go lictor," purſued he, "put aſide the croud, and make way for the maſter to "ſeize his ſlave." When ſwollen with rage, he had expreſſed himſelf thus, with a tone of authority, the

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croud gave way of their own accord, leaving the poor girl ſtanding alone, a victim to lawleſs luſt.—Virginius then, when he ſaw no appearance of relief, intreated Appius, in the firſt place, "To impute it to a father's "grief, if he had unguardedly expreſſed himſelf unbe-"coming the dignity of Appius; and, in the ſecond "place, to indulge him with a moment's converſation "with the nurſe, in the young woman's preſence, with a "view to clear up ſome points; and if he found that he "had really been impoſed on, he might then depart "better ſatisfied in his own mind." He was allowed that liberty, and accordingly led his daughter and her nurſe aſide to the booths, near the temple of Cloacina, now called the new booths, and there ſnatching a butcher's knife. "By this, the only means in my power, "my dear child," *ſaid he*, "I preſerve thy honour and "liberty;" and then plunged it into her heart: turning inſtantly full upon Appius, crying out, "By this inno-"cent blood, Appius, I devote thy head to the infernal "gods."

A clamour being raiſed on the commiſſion of this atrocious deed, the decemvir was dreadfully alarmed, and immediately ordered Virginius to be ſeized; but he opened a paſſage to himſelf with the knife, wherever he went, till by favour of the multitude, he reached the gates. Icilius and Numitorius, lifted up her breathleſs body, and expoſed it to the people, deploring the guilt of Appius, the fatal beauty of Virginia, and the cruel neceſſity to which her father was reduced, of taking away her life with his own hand. The matrons following the corpſe, cried out, "Is it for this purpoſe we "bring children into the world? Is this the reward of "chaſtity?"—Adding a thouſand other moving complaints, which grief, particularly lively and tender in their ſex, generally inſpires them with on ſuch occaſions. The men, but eſpecially Icilius, complained only, that the people had been deprived of their tribunes, and the right of appeal, and that the groſſeſt villanies were committed in the face of the ſun,

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CHAP. XLIX. *Appius's authority ſinking.*

THE multitude now were in the higheſt ferment, both on account of the enormity of the crime, and the hope of recovering their liberty. Sometimes Appius ordered Icilius to be cited, and ſometimes to be carried to jail for his obſtinacy. At laſt, finding the officers could not get through the croud, he came himſelf, attended by a band of young Patricians, and having made way through the croud, ordered him to be carried to jail. But, by this time, Icilius had not only a numerous populace about him, but their patrons, L. Valerius and M. Horatius at their head; who puſhing away the lictor, told him, "If he had a legal action "againſt Icilius, they would be bail to defend him a-"gainſt the decemvir, who was only a private perſon; "but, if he dared to uſe force, he would ſoon find the "difference." This raiſed a terrible tumult. The decemvir's lictor fell upon Valerius and Horatius, and the mob broke his faſces. Appius went up to the Roſtra to harrangue the people; Valerius and Horatius followed. When they ſpoke, the aſſembly were all attention; but the decemvir could not be heard for noiſe.

Matters were carried ſo high, by this time, that Valerius took upon him to order the lictors to be gone from Appius, who being only a private perſon, had no title to lictors. Appius, in the mean time, terrified for the conſequences, and in fear of his life, eſcaped, with his head covered with his robe, unknown to the oppoſition, into a houſe adjoining the forum. Sp. Oppius, from the oppoſite ſide, ruſhed into the forum to ſupport his colleague. But there he ſaw his authority quite overpowered. After much deliberation, and urged on all ſides to comply, at laſt, in much conſternation, he ordered the ſenate to be aſſembled. This ſtep in a great meaſure quieted the people, in hopes, that as many of the Patricians ſeemed diſſatisfied with the conduct of the decemvirs, the ſenate would put an end to their authority. The ſenate were not for exaſperating the people; but they thought particular care ſhould be taken to pre-

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vent the ſedition which Virginius might raiſe in the army.

CHAP. L.

Virginius's remonſtrance in the camp. A Seceſſion.

ACCORDINGLY ſome young Patricians were diſpatched to the camp, which was then upon mount Vecilius, to acquaint the decemvirs, with the neceſſity of uſing every means to prevent a mutiny of the ſoldiers. But Virginius had excited a greater tumult in the camp, than he had left behind him in the city. For, beſides that, the troop of almoſt 400 citizens, who accompanied him from the city, in condolance for his misfortune, made his arrival more conſpicuous; the knife which he carried in his hand, and the blood with which he was covered, drew on him the eyes of the whole army.

The gowns which was obſerved in many different parts of the camp, made the number of citizens appear greater than it really was. Whilſt every body aſked him what had happened, he continued ſilent for ſome time, and anſwered only with tears. At length, recovering himſelf a little from that confuſion, which the ſudden concourſe had occaſioned, there was ſilence all over, when he repeated every circumſtance, in order, as it happened. Then lifting up his hands to heaven, and addreſſing himſelf to his fellow-ſoldiers, he conjured them, "not to aſcribe to him a crime, the imputation of which "was due to Appius Claudius alone, nor to look upon "him with abhorrence, as the murderer of his own "child. The life of his daughter was dearer to him "than his own; if, in preſerving it, ſhe could alſo have "preſerved her liberty and her honour: but ſeeing her "juſt about to be dragged away as a ſlave, to be made "the victim of a decemvir's wild deſires, he thought it "more honourable to loſe his child by death, than infamy. It was pity and tenderneſs alone, that ſhowed "him in a ſavage point of view; nor would he have "ſurvived her, but for the hopes of revenge in the aſſiſtance of his fellow-ſoldiers: They have alſo daugh-

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" ters,—ſiſters,—wives. The luſt of Appius had not " expired with his daughter; but the more it was ſuffer- " ed with impunity, would be ſtill the more outrageous. " They ought to take warning from another's misfor- " tune, and guard againſt the like injuries. For his own " ſhare, he had loſt his wife, and his daughter, as ſhe " could have preſerved her virtue only by the loſs of her " life, and had ſuffered an unhappy, but an honourable " death: he had now nothing to fear from the bruta- " lity of Appius, in his own family; and from any in- " jurious attempts againſt his perſon, he knew how to " deliver himſelf with the ſame ſpirit he had done his " daughter. It was their buſineſs to take care of them- " ſelves and children."

Theſe complaints of Virginius were followed by the acclamations of the whole multitude; who aſſured him they would neither be wanting to avenge his grief, nor to aſſert their own liberty. The citizens too, mingling in the crowd with the ſoldiers, confirmed what they had heard from Virginius; repreſenting at the ſame time, that to be ſpectators of a ſcene ſo diſtreſſing, was much more affecting than the minuteſt relation. At the ſame time they told them, that the intereſt of the decemvirs was entirely ſunk at Rome; and that thoſe who had come after them, brought accounts that Appius having narrowly eſcaped with his life, had abſconded. Such an impreſſion had theſe accounts on the ſoldiers, that to arms was the univerſal cry; the ſtandards were pulled up, and the troops took the route of Rome. The decemvirs, terrified with what they ſaw, and the accounts they had heard of what paſſed in the city, run to all ſides of the camp to appeaſe the tumult. If they ſpoke mildly, they were anſwered with ſilence; if they ſpoke with authority, the ſoldiers told them, " that they " were men, and had their arms in their hands." They marched to Rome in a body, and poſted themſelves upon mount Aventine, in their way exhorting all they met, to recover their liberty, and to create tribunes; but they uſed neither violence nor menaces.

Sp. Oppius aſſembled the ſenate. All violent meaſures were exploded. The decemvirs themſelves were the cauſe of the ſedition. Sp. Tarpeius, Caius Julius, P.

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Sulpicius, three consular gentlemen, were deputed to the soldiers, to demand, in name of the senate, by whose orders they had abandoned the camp, or what they proposed to themselves, by seizing the Aventine in arms? What they intended by turning their backs upon the enemy, and their arms against their country? Their answer was ready, but they wanted one qualified to deliver it. Having yet appointed no chief, nobody ventured to take it upon himself, nor to expose himself to the danger with which it might be attended. Only there was a general cry, to send Valerius and Horatius to them; and to them they would give their answer.

CHAP. LI. *The Secession in continuation.*

WHEN the deputies were withdrawn, Virginius represented to the soldiers, "That they had just "before been at a loss in a matter of no great difficulty, "only for this reason, that they were a body without "a head. That they had indeed given an answer quite "to the purpose; but it was rather the effect of chance, "than the result of public deliberation. That it was "his own opinion, they should elect ten persons, whom "they should invest with the chief command, under "the martial title of military tribunes." When they put him at the head of the list; "Reserve, *said he*, your "generous intentions for me, for times more favour-"able to us both. No dignity can sit easy on me, whilst "my daughter is unrevenged; and at this time of public "embarrassment, it would be imprudent to confer offices "of authority upon persons most exposed to the hatred "of those in opposition. If you think me capable of "serving you, my endeavours will be no less exerted in "continuing a private person."

Ten military tribunes were accordingly created. The other army employed against the Sabines, soon took the hint, and at the instigation of Icilius and Numitorius, threw off all allegiance to the decemvirs.

The murder of Siccius, now appeared to them in the most glaring colours, and incensed them no less, than the late accounts they had received of the base attempt upon Virginius's honour. Whenever Icilius heard, that

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military tribunes were created on the Aventine hill, leſt the city Comitia ſhould ſet a precedent, in electing thoſe who were military tribunes, to be tribunes of the people, eſpecially as he was a man much verſant in popular affairs, and had an eye to the tribunitian power himſelf, he took care, before they ſet out for the city, that the ſame number of military tribunes ſhould be appointed by that army, and inveſted with the ſame authority.

They entered the city with colours flying, by the gate Collina, and marched in a body through the middle of it, to the Aventine Mount. There, having joined the other army, they gave it in charge to the twenty tribunes, to chuſe two of their number, to the ſupreme command. Their choice fell upon M. Oppius and Sex. Manilius.

The ſenators anxious for the commonwealth, ſat every day; but the time which ought to have been employed in concerting prudent meaſures, was waſted in ſtrife and wrangling. The decemvirs were inceſſantly reproached with the murder of Sicinius, the luſt of Appius, and the miſcarriages in the war. They reſolved, however, to ſend Valerius and Horatius, to the Mount Aventine; but they refuſed to undertake the embaſſy, till the decemvirs ſhould diveſt themſelves of the enſigns of their authority, which they ought to have done twelve months ago. The decemvirs complained, that they were to be reduced, by force, to the condition of private perſons, declaring, they would not lay down their authority, before the laws were paſſed, for enacting which, they had been created, which was the only term fixed for the expiration of their magiſtracy.

CHAP. LII.

The Decemvirs are prevailed on to lay down their authority.

THE people having got intelligence, by means of M. Duilius, who had been a tribune, that the ſenate had come to no deciſive reſolution, owing to their conſtant wranglings, they left the Aventine, and retired to the ſacred Mount: Duilius aſſuring them, that the

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fathers would never think ſeriouſly of the matter, till they ſhould ſee the city totally deſerted. "But the "Mons Sacer, will remind them of the ſteady reſolu- "tion of the commons, and convince them, that unleſs "the tribunes be reſtored, they will find a re-union "impracticable."

Marching, therefore, by the Nomantine way, then called Ficulenſis, they encamped on the ſacred Mount, obſerving the ſame good diſcipline, for which their anceſtors had been ſo much admired. Thither they were accompanied by the people, none ſtaying behind, whoſe age would permit him to go. Their wives and children came after them, aſking them mournfully, to whoſe care they had conſigned them in a city, where neither the honour of women, nor public liberty was ſafe?

Rome ſaw herſelf now changed into a frightful ſolitude, and not a creature to be ſeen in the forum, but ſuch as were worn out with years. When the fathers, after they were aſſembled in ſenate, obſerved nobody in the forum, ſeveral beſides Valerius and Horatius, boldly remonſtrated to this effect. "What is it you wait for, "venerable fathers? If the decemvirs will perſiſt in "their obſtinacy, will you ſuffer all to go to perdition? "And pray, Meſſeurs Decemvirs, what is that ſove- "reignty, of which you are ſo tenacious?—a ſovereign- "ty over empty houſes and bare walls? Do not you "bluſh to ſee, that all the citizens in the forum, ſcarce "equal the number of your lictors? Should the enemy "come to attack us, what could you do? Should the "people, ſeeing us ſo unconcerned about their removal, "advance hither in arms againſt you, what would be "the conſequence? Are you determined to make the "period of your authority, of the ſame date with the "ruin of the republic? Is it not evident, that you muſt "either have no people, or they muſt have tribunes? "We ſhall ſooner give up our Patrician magiſtrates, "than they their Plebeian. They extorted from our "fathers that Plebeian magiſtracy, of which, at that "time, they had not experienced the benefit; and it is "not very probable now, that they have taſted the "ſweets of it, they will ever conſent to part with it;

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"especially as your government has been—such, as to "make them feel the want of protection."

Discourses of this kind saluting the ears of the decemvirs from all sides, they were overcome by so unanimous a concurrence, and declared, that since it must be so, they should be wholly governed by the senate. But there was one thing they begged leave to request, which was not unworthy of attention, that they might not be exposed as victims to the rage of their enemies, for it concerned them nearly, not to accustom the people, in the punishment of the decemvirs, to dip their hands in the blood of the Patricians.

CHAP. LIII.

A Coalition of the two Orders.

VALERIUS and Horatius were then deputed with full powers to conclude a treaty of pacification with the people; and it was recommended to them, to take proper precautions, that the decemvirs might not suffer from the rage and violence of the populace. As they were approaching, they were met and ushered into the camp, with universal joy, as the deliverers of their country, by their exertions in this affair, both in setting it on foot, and bringing it to a happy conclusion. For all which, they had public thanks returned them.

Icilius spoke for the multitude. When they came to an explanation, the deputies desiring to be informed, with respect to the people's demands; Icilius's answer, which had been concerted before their arrival, plainly evinced, that the people founded their pretensions more in equity, than in the arms which they had in their hands. They insisted on the re-establishment of tribunes, and the right of appeal, which had been the pillars of their liberty, before the creation of the decemvirs, together with an amnesty for all those who had been concerned in advising the revolt and the secession. Only they insisted, to have the decemvirs punished with great severity, making it a point, that the decemvirs should

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be delivered into their hands, and they threatened to burn them alive.

The deputies replied; "Your claim, gentlemen, "which we suppose has the general approbation, is so "fair and equitable, that we come prepared to grant "it of our own accord. For, it only tends to protect "your liberty, and not to promote licentiousness, to the "prejudice of others. Your resentment against the de-"cemvirs, we must rather pardon, than comply with. "From an abhorrence of cruelty, you want to give an "example of it in your own conduct; and are for "lording it over others, before you have made sure of "your own freedom. Shall this city never see an end "of our enmity, and declared war between the senate "and people? You have more occasion for the shield "than the sword. He is brought low enough, who "degraded from his authority, must live on a level "with others, without the power of committing, or "the trouble of resenting injuries. If at any time you "would wish to appear formidable, it must be when "you have recovered your magistrates and your laws, "when you will have the power in your own hands, "and our lives and fortunes at your disposal. Then, "and not till then, can you determine the fate of any "one. For the present, be satisfied with the recovery "of your liberty."

CHAP. LIV.

Restoration of the Consulate, and Tribunitian power.

THE whole assembly, having unanimously submitted their pretensions to the deputies, they promised to return soon with the ratification of their demands. When, on their return, they laid the people's claims before the senators; the rest of the decemvirs, beyond all expectation, finding no mention made of punishing them, objected to nothing; but Appius, the most cruel and odious wretch of the whole, measuring the people's hatred of him, by his to them, said, "I am "not ignorant of the fate that awaits me. I see that we "are only reserved for a greater condemnation, when

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" our enemies have got arms in their hands. Nothing " but blood will satisfy their malice. I am ready never- " theless, to divest myself of the decemvirate; and the " sooner the better."——The senate passed a decree, " That the decemvirs should instantly depose them- " selves; that the high-priest, Q. Furius, should create " tribunes of the people; and, that none should be liable " to prosecution, upon account of the desertion of " the soldiers, or removal of the people to Mount " Aventine."

These matters being finished, and the senate broke up, the decemvirs repaired to the forum, and in the assembly of the people, abdicated their office, to the great joy of the citizens.

The news were immediately carried to the camp by the deputies, who had all the people that were left in the city, in their retinue. Another part of the people, went out from the camp to meet them. They congratulated each other upon the recovery of peace and liberty. Then the deputies, having called an assembly, delivered themselves to this purpose: " Return soldiers " to your country, your household gods, your wives " and children; and may your return be attended with " all the prosperity, success, and felicity to yourselves, " and the republic, which your hearts can desire! Re- " turn, however, with the same moderation to the city, " you have hitherto observed, when so great a multi- " tude, in a necessity so urgent and so general, have not " injured a single field. March back to the Aventine, " whence you came. There, in that place of happy " augury, where you laid the first foundation of your " liberty, create tribunes of the people. The high- " priest will be there, to preside in your assembly."

The joy, upon this occasion, was general and excessive, and expressed in the loudest acclamations. Immediately the army snatched up their ensigns, and marched to Rome, congratulating all they met, and receiving their congratulations. They passed through the city with profound silence, and halted upon Mount Aventine, where the high-priest immediately holding the assembly, they elected their tribunes. A. Virginius was first named, then L. Icilius, and P. Numitorius, Virginia's

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uncle, as the chief promoters of the ſeceſſion. After them, C. Sicinius, a deſcendant of that Sicinius, who is ſaid to have been created the firſt tribune upon the ſacred Mount: and, M. Duilius, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the office of tribune, before the inſtitution of the decemvirate, and ever after, had ſtood firm againſt them, in the intereſt of the people: five others were choſen, M. Titinnius, M. Pomponius, C. Apronius, P. Villius, C. Oppius, more in expectation of future, than for paſt ſervices.

As ſoon as they entered upon office, on a motion of Icilius, they enacted, that no perſon ſhould be proſecuted for ſeparating from the decemvirs. Duilius, at the ſame time, paſſed a bill for the election of conſuls, with the right of appeal to the people. All theſe things were tranſacted in an aſſembly of the people, in the Flaminian meadows, now the Flaminian circus.

CHAP. LV.

Popular laws introduced by the new Conſuls.

LUCIUS VALERIUS and M. Horatius, were then elected conſuls, by an inter-rex, and immediately entered upon the duties of their office. The popular adminiſtration of theſe conſuls, though it did no hurt, gave no ſmall offence to the Patricians, who conſidered every precaution which was taken to ſecure the liberty of the people, as a derogation of their prerogative. In the firſt place, whereas it was a diſputable point in law, whether the ſenators were amenable to the decrees of the commons; the conſuls now paſſed a law in the Comitia by centuries, ordaining, that whatever the commons ſhould enact in the Comitia by tribes, ſhould be binding on the whole body of the people, by which law, the bills of the tribunes, were armed with a very dangerous weapon. After this, they revived the other conſular law, concerning the right of appeal, the chief pillar of their liberty, which had been overturned by the decemvirs; but, for the time coming, gave it new force by an appendix: "Prohibiting the future creation "of any magiſtrate, from whom there ſhould be no

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" appeal, and whoever ſhould attempt it, might be " put to death with impunity, or even a proſecution on " that account."

The people being thus ſufficiently ſecured by the right of appeal, on the one hand, and the protection of their tribunes on the other; that the perſons of the tribunes might be ſacred and inviolable, they revived ſome antient ceremonies, now almoſt forgot. And, that they might not only have religion for their defence, but an expreſs law in their favour, they enacted, " That who- " ever ſhould maltreat the tribunes of the people, Ædiles, " and judges, or decemvirs, his head ſhould be devoted " to Jupiter, and his family expoſed to ſale, at the " temple of Ceres, Liber, and Libera." The lawyers contend, that by this law, no man's perſon is rendered ſacred; but, that the man who does any of them a manifeſt injury, is liable to the pains of law. For which reaſon, an Ædile may be arreſted and impriſoned by a ſuperior magiſtrate: which, though not expreſly warranted by law, for it is hurting a man, who by this law is ſecured; yet it is an argument againſt it, that the perſon of an Ædile is not ſacred. They likewiſe maintain, that the tribunes were declared ſacred, by an oath of the people, at the firſt inſtitution of their office. It is alſo aſſerted by ſome, that the conſuls, and the prætors alſo, choſen under the ſame auſpices with them, have the privilege of this law, as the conſul comes under the denomination of a judge. But, as the prætors at that time, not the conſuls, were conſidered as judges, this explanation of the law is inadmiſſible.

The ſame conſuls alſo ordained, that the decrees of the ſenate, which, before that, the conſuls could ſuppreſs or alter, ſhould for the future, be depoſited in the temple of Ceres, and kept by the Ædiles. Duilius then brought in a bill, which the people paſſed into a law; " That whoever ſhould deprive the people of their tri- " bunes, or create a magiſtrate without appeal, ſhould " be ſcourged with rods, and loſe his head." Though the Patricians oppoſed none of theſe laws, as none of them had been perſonally injured, yet they did not receive them without regret.

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CHAP. LVI.

Appius brought to his trial by Virginius.

THE authority of the tribunes, and the liberties of the people being thus eſtabliſhed, they thought it was high time now, to call the decemvirs to account, but not by the lump, only one by one, in conſequence of which, Virginius was pitched on as the firſt proſecutor, and Appius, in courſe as the defendant. When the day for Appius's trial was come, he ſtept into the forum, eſcorted by a band of young Patricians, which gave every one a retroſpect of thoſe melancholy days, when the ſame Patricians, like ſo many guards, made up his train.

Virginius then addreſſed himſelf to the people, to the following effect. "Speeches are only neceſſary to ſupport cauſes that are doubtful; I ſhall not, therefore, take up your time in enumerating the crimes of a man, whoſe cruelty laid you under the neceſſity of taking up arms, to reſcue yourſelves from it; nor will I give him leave to aggravate his crimes, by the impudence of defending them. I ſhall not, therefore, Appius Claudius, touch upon your flagitious practices for the whole ſpace of two years. There is one crime only, to which I ſhall confine my charge, and of which, if you do not inſtantly clear yourſelf, I order you to be led to priſon. Why did you, contrary to law, refuſe a perſon, whoſe liberty was brought into diſpute, the poſſeſſion of that liberty, till the trial was over?"

Appius, had no hope of aſſiſtance from the tribunes, nor from the voices of the people; nevertheleſs, he called upon the tribunes; and finding none of them interpoſing, when the officer laid hold of him to drag him away, he called out, *I appeal.* That word, the pillar of popular liberty, from a man who had ſo lately violated the laws of liberty, cauſed an univerſal ſilence. The ſoliloquy of every one, was;—"It is plain there are Gods, who make human affairs their care. The puniſhment of cruelty and pride is ſlow, but ſevere. Is the man who aboliſhed all appeals, now reduced

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" to have recourſe to them, and to implore the protec-
" tion of that very people, of whoſe rights he was the
" ſubverter?—Is the unjuſt judge, who gave up a free
" perſon to ſlavery, now himſelf abandoned to chains
" and priſons, without the leaſt ſupport from his privi-
" lege of liberty?"

Amidſt the murmurs of the people, Appius was heard imploring their protection. He enumerated the great ſervices his anceſtors had done to the ſtate, both in peace and in war. " He deplored his unhappy zeal for the " intereſts of the people, which had induced him to re-
" nounce the conſulſhip, to eſtabliſh an equal right a-
" mong all the citizens, by a ſcheme of new laws, tho'
" by that means, he had drawn the diſpleaſure of the
" whole ſenate upon him; and though the laws them-
" ſelves he had lately inſtituted, were ſtill in force, their
" author was now to be dragged to priſon. With re-
" ſpect to other matters, he would render an account
" of his conduct, when leave ſhould be granted him of
" making a legal defence: and in the preſent caſe he
" only wanted permiſſion, as a citizen of Rome, to make
" his defence, and to have the judgment of the Roman
" people: For he was not ſo much afraid of all that
" malice could lay to his charge, as to deſpair of the e-
" quity and clemency of his fellow-citizens. If he was
" led to jail, without the privilege of making his de-
" fence, he would again appeal to the tribunes, and
" would adviſe them not to follow the example of thoſe
" they hated. That if the tribunes confeſſed they had
" concerted among themſelves to aboliſh the right of
" appeal, from them he would appeal to the people,
" and implore the protection of the laws juſt made, by
" joint conſent of conſuls and tribunes, to confirm that
" privilege. What citizen of any rank, can find his
" account in theſe laws, if Appius Claudius cannot?
" Your conduct, with regard to me, will really evince,
" whether the right of appeal be only an empty name,
" or whether oppreſſion will find relief in them, againſt
" the cabals and injuſtice of magiſtrates."

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CHAP. LVII.

Appius impriſoned. War with the Æqui and Volſci. War with the Sabines.

VIRGINIUS in return ſaid, "That Appius Clau-
"dius, of all mankind, had nothing to do with
"laws, or any ſocial compact; nor ought he to derive
"any benefit from them. Only look at yonder tribunal,
"where this perpetual decemvir, the declared enemy of
"the lives, fortunes, and liberties of the citizens, threa-
"tening all with rods and axes; regardleſs of gods and
"men, and always ſurrounded with hangmen, inſtead
"of lictors; paſſing from rapines and murders to brutal
"luſt, delivered up to his infamous Pander, in the pre-
"ſence of the Roman people, a maid of free condition,
"tearing her from the arms of her father, like a ſlave
"who had become the perquiſite of the conqueror:
"where, by a cruel ſentence, founded on the moſt fla-
"grant injuſtice, armed the hand of the unhappy fa-
"ther againſt the life of his child. Nay, when her
"uncle and intended huſband were taking up the body
"of the expiring virgin, he ordered them both to pri-
"ſon, being much more affected for the loſs of his game,
"than the tragical ſcene before him. And he ſaw no
"reaſon, why the priſon which he had built, and in-
"ſolently called the *Habitation of the commons of Rome*,
"ſhould not alſo be a manſion-houſe for himſelf. Where-
"he might appeal as often as he pleaſed, and ſo often
"would he impeach him on this ſingle article, that *he*
"*had unjuſtly condemned a perſon free-born, and in free*
"*condition, to ſlavery*. And if he does not inſtantly
"plead, I order him to jail as a criminal condemned."

He was therefore conducted to priſon; and though nobody oppoſed his committment, yet it made a very ſtrong impreſſion upon the minds of the populace, who thought that the rigorous treatment of ſo great a man, was an exceſſive ſtretch of tribunitian power. The tribune appointed him a day for making his defence.

In the mean time, ambaſſadors arrived from the Latins and Hernici, to congratulate Rome on the reconci-

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liation between the two orders of the ſtate; on account of which, they lodged in the capitol, a crown of gold, as a preſent to Jupiter, the beſt and greateſt. Their finances did not permit them to go far, as to the weight; but the ceremonies of religion were more regarded in thoſe days for their piety, than their pomp. They likewiſe brought advices, that the Æqui and Volſci were making mighty preparations for war; upon which the conſuls were ordered to ſhare the provinces between them. It fell to Horatius to march againſt the Sabines, and to Valerius, to march againſt the confederate forces of the Æqui and Volſci.

When they were making the enrollments for theſe ſervices, ſuch reſpect did the people pay to theſe patriot conſuls, that not only the youth, but thoſe who had ſerved the legal time, were ready to give in their names, and moſt of them too as volunteers: by which means, the army was not only increaſed, but rendered much more formidable, by the mixture of thoſe veterans among the new raiſed recruits. Before they left the city, the two laſt of the twelve tables of laws were engraven on braſs, and hung up in the forum. According to ſome hiſtorians, it was the Ædiles, who, at the inſtance of the tribunes, performed that office.

CHAP. LVIII.

Application in favour of Appius fruitleſs. — Oppius alſo tried, and both die in priſon. The reſt of the Decemvirs baniſhed.

CAIUS CLAUDIUS, having always diſliked the principles of the decemvirs, and particularly deteſted the pride and inſolence of his nephew, had withdrawn to Regillum, his native country; but though he was now very old, he returned to Rome, to aſſiſt him with all his credit, at this dangerous conjuncture, however much he had been a declared enemy of his vices; and for that purpoſe, appeared in the forum, in a mourning habit, attended by his whole family and a great number of clients, ſoliciting the favour of every one he met, conjuring them "not to entail on the Claudian

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"family a disgrace, which would cause them to be con-
"sidered by posterity, as citizens that merited chains
"and prisons.—Not to suffer a man, whose memory
"posterity ought to revere, as the legislator of Rome,
"and the founder of their civil rights, to lie in a dun-
"geon with thieves and robbers: but rather to suffer
"their just indignation to give way to the more natural
"feelings of compassion, which arise from reflection;
"and rather forgive one of the Claudii, for the sake of
"so many of the name as interceeded for him, than out
"of hatred to one, to reject the prayers of so many.—
"At the same time he begged leave to assure them, that
"this solicitation on his own part was not the result of
"a reconciliation with, or partiality for the delinquent,
"but merely on account of his relation, and honour of
"the Claudian name; and as they had now recovered
"their liberty, by their bravery, they should also
"strengthen the union between the two orders of the
"state, by their clemency."

Many, who had no regard for Appius, were affected with the intreaties of this venerable old man; but Virginius, on the other hand, "begged them rather to have
"compassion on him and his daughter; and to have re-
"gard to the prayers, not of the Claudian family, which
"had exercised a cruel tyranny over them, but of Vir-
"ginia's relations. and three tribunes, who being creat-
"ed for the protection of the people, were now implor-
"ing their aid and protection."

These tears prevailed. Appius in consequence having lost all hopes, put an end to his own life, before the day appointed for his trial arrived. Sp. Oppius, who after Appius, was of all the decemvirs most detested, was prosecuted soon after, at the instance of Numitorius, as an accomplice of Appius in the affair of Virginia, because he was in the city when that infamous judgment was passed. But a crime charged personally against himself cut deeper in his condemnation, than his conniving at Appius's baseness. A witness was produced who had served twenty-seven years, and had been eight times honoured with military rewards, which he had with him. Stripping off his robe, exposed his shoulders which had been torn with rods by the decemvirs lictors, offering to

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ſubmit himſelf to the ſame treatment again, if Oppius could aſſign any good reaſon for his cruelty. Oppius was alſo ſent to priſon, and before the day of his trial, he was no more. The eſtates of both were confiſcated by the tribunes. The reſt of the decemvirs were baniſhed, and their eſtates confiſcated. Claudius, who had claimed Virginia, was condemned on the day appointed for his trial; but Virginius remitted his execution, and converted the ſentence into baniſhment, when he retired to Tibur.—Thus the manes of Virginia, more happy after her death than in her life, having wandered through ſo many houſes in purſuit of juſt vengeance, were at length appeaſed, by the puniſhment of all the guilty.

CHAP. LIX.

Seaſonable interpoſition of Duilius. The Fathers diſſatisfied with the popularity of the conſuls.

THE ſenators were now under no ſmall apprehenſions, ſeeing the tribunes had become as ſanguinary as the decemvirs had been before, when Duilius, who was one of the tribunes, gave a very ſeaſonable check to their immoderate ſtretch of power; declaring, "that enough had been done, both for the ſecurity of "their liberties, and the puniſhment of their enemies; "and therefore he would ſuffer no perſon to be cited to "a trial, nor committed to priſon, during the remain-"der of the year. With reſpect to the paſt, to revive "the remembrance of old faults, which ought to be "buried in oblivion, now that the decemvirs, in their "puniſhment, had expiated new ones, would be highly "improper. With reſpect to the future, the ſteady and "unanimous zeal of both conſuls in guarding the liber-"ty of the people, would be ſufficient ſecurity that no-"thing will happen to require the interpoſition of the "tribunes."

This moderation of the tribune, ſerved in the firſt place to diſpell the fears of the ſenators, but on the other hand increaſed their averſion to the conſuls, who had declared ſo openly and ſo entirely for the people,

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that a Plebeian magiſtrate ſhould ſee cauſe to take upon him the intereſt and ſafety of the ſenate before a Patrician; and that their enemies had been ſatisfied with revenge, before the conſuls took any meaſure for oppoſing their licentiouſneſs. Many blamed their own negligence and facility, in giving their ſanction to the laws paſſed by thoſe conſuls in favour of the people; and it was ſufficiently obvious, that nothing but the diſtracted ſtate of the Republic had obliged them to comply with the times.

CHAP. LX.

An action with the Æqui and Volſci.

THE domeſtic troubles being thus ſettled, and the liberty of the people firmly eſtabliſhed, the conſuls went each into his reſpective province. Valerius, by a maſterly ſtroke of policy, ſupported the war againſt the Æqui and Volſci, whoſe armies were joined at the Algidus. Had he immediately riſked a battle, it is hard to ſay, conſidering how the courage of the parties ſtood affected, after what happened when the decemvirs commanded, whether it would not have been of dangerous conſequence. He kept the army cloſe within their lines, which he had formed at the diſtance of a mile from the enemy. The vacant ſpace between the camps ſerved the enemy for ranging themſelves in order of battle.

When the enemy advanced to bid them defiance, they were anſwered with ſilence. At length the Æqui and Volſci, wearied with ſtanding under arms, and expecting battle to no purpoſe, thought the victory was fairly given up to them; and accordingly, ſent out detachments of their troops to ravage the country of the Latins and Hernici: In conſequence of which, the few that remained might rather be conſidered as a guard to the camp, than a force ſufficient for a general engagement.

The conſul perceiving their weakneſs, gave them the alarm in his turn; and his troops being drawn up in order of battle, challenged them to come out. Conſcious of their inferiority, they did not accept, which inſpired the Romans immediately with an extraordinary

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degree of courage; concluding their enemies, now trembling within their camp, already in their power. They continued the reſt of the day under arms, but night obliged them to retire full of hopes, to reſt and refreſh themſelves.

Very different was the ſituation of the enemy's ſpirits, expreſſes were poſted away in all haſte, to recal thoſe who had been diſperſed to plunder. The parties, at no great diſtance, returned; but they who had made a greater excurſion, were not found. Early next morning, the Roman army marched out of their camp, in order to attack the enemies lines, ſhould they decline coming to battle: and when the day was far ſpent, and no appearance of the enemy's ſtirring, the conſul gave the ſignal for the attack. Seeing the Roman army in motion, the Æqui and Volſci aſhamed, that victorious as they had been, they ſhould now defend themſelves rather by their works than their ſwords, they applied to their generals, and with much importunity obtained the ſignal.

When ſome of their battalions had already marched out at the gates of the camp, and others followed in proper order, each man in his rank, the conſul advanced againſt them, before they could be ſupported by the whole army. Wherefore, charging them before all the troops were marched out, and had time to form themſelves; and to intimidate them the more, raiſing a great ſhout, they appeared before the Roman conſul, like an unweildy mob, aſſembled without deſign, and looking at one another. At firſt they gave way; but being reproached by their generals, for loſing ground before enemies they had beat, they reſumed their courage, and renewed the fight.

CHAP. LXI.

Victory over the Æqui and Volſci.

THE conſul, on the other hand, put the Romans in mind; "That this was the firſt opportunity, "ſince they became free, that fortune had given them "of diſtinguiſhing themſelves for a free country.—That

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" they would now conquer for themſelves, and not for " decemvirs.—That Appius was no longer their com- " mander, but Valerius the conſul; who being deſcend- " ed of patriots, had himſelf eſtabliſhed the liberty of " the people.—That they ſhould now demonſtrate, it " was not owing to the ſoldiers, but to the generals, " that in former battles, they had not been victorious. " To have it ſaid, that they had ſignalized themſelves " more againſt their fellow-citizens, than now againſt " the enemy; and that they were more afraid of ſlavery " in Rome, than in the field of battle, would be infa- " mous to the laſt degree. That Virginia was only one " individual, whoſe chaſtity was in danger in time of " peace, and in the criminal paſſion of Appius alone, " this danger totally centered. But, were the fortune " of war, to declare againſt them, the danger from ſo " many thouſand enemies, would not even be confined " to themſelves, but deſcend to their poſterity. But, " he would not draw concluſions from events, which he " hoped Jupiter, and their father Mars, would never " ſuffer to befal a city, founded with ſuch glorious " proſpects." Then putting them in mind of the Aven- tine and ſacred Mounts, he told them; " That as but " a few months before, they had there regained their " liberty, thither it became them, to carry back their " power unblemiſhed. It was their buſineſs now to " evidence, that Roman bravery had neither expired " with the inſtitution, nor abolition of the decemvirate; " and that the laws which eſtabliſhed an equality among " the citizens, had not diminiſhed their valour."

Having thus harrangued the foot, amidſt their enſigns, he turns to the horſe, addreſſing them to this effect. " Come on, my brave fellows, you are now to vie with " the foot, in ſupport of your honour, and ſuperior " rank. To the bravery of the foot, the enemy gave " way at the firſt charge; do you complete the diſorder, " by giving the reins to the horſes, and drive them out " of the field of battle. They will not ſtand your at- " tack. See,—they are too much at a ſtand, even to " act on the defenſive." Now they put ſpurs to their horſes, and furiouſly charged the enemy, already put in confuſion by the foot, and having broke through

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their ranks, penetrated even to the rear. Some of them riding round the open ſpace, blocked up every paſſage to the enemy's camp, and as they were flying on all ſides, rode up to intercept them. The foot, with the conſul at their head, and in ſhort, the beſt part of the army turned upon the camp, where many of the enemy fell, whilſt the Romans remained maſters of their camp, and a conſiderable booty.

The news of this victory was ſoon carried to Rome, and the other army that acted againſt the Sabines. In the city, it was ſolemnized with great rejoicings, and in the camp, it excited the greateſt emulation. Horatius, by ſkirmiſhing and ſlight engagements, had accuſtomed his troops to confide rather in their preſent valour, than to remember their paſt defeats under the decemvirs; and theſe little encounters had made them confident of victory, whenever they ſhould come to a general engagement.

Nor did the Sabines, encouraged by the ſucceſſes of the former year, fail inceſſantly to provoke them, aſking them reproachfully, "What they meant by waſting the "time in petty depredations, like a banditti, and "the ſpinning out a war, in ſkirmiſhes with ſtraggling "parties, which might be determined in one deciſive "action? Why were they afraid of a general battle, "which would at once decide the controverſy?"

CHAP. LXII. *Battle with the Sabines.*

THE Romans had by this time ſufficiently recovered their courage, and they were now fired with indignation. What! ſaid they, ſhall the other army return with laurels to the city, whilſt we are perpetually abuſed and inſulted by the enemy? If ever we will be a match for our enemies,—it is now. The conſul perceiving theſe murmurings of the ſoldiers in the camp, he called an aſſembly, and addreſſed them to the following effect: "I ſuppoſe, ſoldiers, you have heard of the "battle at the Algidus, where the behaviour of the "army has been ſuch, as became the ſons of liberty. "The maſterly conduct of my colleague, and the noble "exertions of the troops under his command, have ob-

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"tained a complete victory. With respect to me, I "shall take such measures, and pursue such plan of "operation, as shall appear most agreeable to you. "We have it in our power, to protract the war with "advantage, or to finish it immediately. If the war "must be protracted, I will follow the same plan I a-"dopted in the beginning, for increasing your hopes "and confirming your valour. If you think that suffi-"ciently done already, as a sign of your inclination "and bravery, raise such a shout, as you would do, "were you instantly to make an attack."

The soldiers, with great chearfulness, set up a terrible shout, when he assured them, "He would comply with "their wishes, and lead them to battle next day, which "he prayed might be auspicious." They spent the rest of that day in preparing their arms. Next morning, the Sabines, who were no less eager to engage, the moment they perceived the Roman army drawn up in order of battle, marched out likewise. The exertions on both sides were such, as might be expected of two armies confident of victory, the one animated with their antient and perpetual glory, and the other flushed with their recent victory. The Sabines, however, were not so confident of their strength, as to exclude stratagem. For, in drawing up in battalia, they reserved two thousand men without their ranks, who were to charge the left wing of the Romans, in the heat of action. This corps-de-reserve, charging furiously in flank, had almost surrounded the left wing, when two squadrons of Roman cavalry, consisting of about six hundred, dismounting, flew to the van, to support those who seemed already to be giving way, and boldly charging the enemy, they not only shared the danger in common with the foot, but inspired them with ardour, through a sense of shame. They blushed to see the cavalry doing double duty, and behaving more gallantly, when dismounted, than they themselves had done.

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CHAP. LXIII.

The Sabines beat. The Conſuls voted a triumph by the People.

UPON this, they rallied, and returned to the poſt they had abandoned, when the battle was not only renewed, but the oppoſite wing of the Sabines gave way. The horſe, covered by the foot, remounted, and galloping to the other wing of the army, informed them of the victory; at the ſame time, charging the enemy, who were not a little confounded, to find that the flower of their army was broke. Thus the Roman horſe diſtinguiſhed themſelves by prodigies of valour. The conſul was all alertneſs; he neglected nothing. The brave he commended; thoſe whoſe ardour ſeemed leſs conſpicuous, he reprimanded, which had a proper effect, for they did not fail to redouble their efforts, a ſenſe of ſhame operating on the one, as much as commendations did on the other. Now, loud huzzas were raiſed, and charging on all ſides in cloſe battalia; the enemy, who no longer able to ſtand the impetuous ardour of the Romans, were put to flight.

The Sabines, thus routed, and ſcattered through the fields, left their camp a prey to the enemy, where the Romans found, not only the ſpoils which had been taken from their allies, as in the camp at the Algidus, but the booty which had been taken from themſelves, in ravaging their own lands.

For both theſe victories, gained over different enemies, the ſenate, out of a grudge to the conſuls, decreed only one day of ſupplication and public thankſgiving; but the people, by their own authority, acquitted themſelves of the ſame duty, the day following, with more pomp and ſolemnity, and with a much greater concourſe of people, than the day before. The conſuls, by concert, came to Rome, the one on the firſt, the other on the ſecond of theſe days, and aſſembled the ſenate in the Campus Martius, where they were rendering an account of the ſucceſs of the campaign. The principal ſenators complained, that they were aſſembled in the midſt of the ſoldiers, on purpoſe to over-aw them: and the conſuls,

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to ſave reflections, adjourned it to the Flaminian Meadows, where a temple of Apollo now ſtands, and that time, called the Circus Apollinaris. Here they were refuſed a triumph, by almoſt the unanimous voice of the ſenate; upon which, L. Icilius the tribune, carried it before the people. Many of the ſenators appeared on the ſide of oppoſition, but none more warmly than C. Claudius, who exclaimed againſt it to the following purpoſe. "It is not over the enemy, but over the ſe-"nate, that the conſuls would triumph: it is for a gra-"tification of ſome ſignal ſervice done the tribune, and "not an honourable reward of their bravery, that they "ſue for. To ſubmit the merit of a triumph, to the "judgment of the people, had no precedent, as that "had always been a prerogative of the ſenate alone. "The privileges of that high order, had never been "abridged, even by their kings. Why then ſhould the "tribunes pretend to engroſs all power to themſelves, "even to the excluding a council of ſtate? In ſhort "the ſtate will never be at peace, nor enjoy liberty, till "the two orders forbear to encroach upon the rights "and privileges of each other." Many more of the old ſenators ſpoke to the ſame effect, but the tribes unanimouſly agreed to the motion. This was the firſt triumph, voted by the people, without a decree of the ſenate.

CHAP. LXIV.

New elections. Candour of Duilius.

THIS victory of the people, and their tribunes, had almoſt been productive of very ſerious conſequences, owing to a combination amongſt the latter, to get themſelves re-elected for the enſuing year, and to keep their ambition in countenance, to continue the ſame conſuls in office for another year. In ſupport of this ſcheme, they pretended, that the ſenate had engaged in a plot, out of picque to the conſuls, to deſtroy the rights of the people. "For what would be the conſe-"quence, ſhould the conſuls, before the laws were "firmly eſtabliſhed, by their factions, make an attempt

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" on the new tribunes? For, they were not always to " have conſuls of the ſame diſpoſition with Valerius and " Horatius, who preferred the liberty of the people, to " their own emolument?"

It happened fortunately to fall to Duilius's lot, to preſide at that election. He was a man of ſenſe, who foreſeeing the miſchievous conſequences that the propoſed continuation would produce, declared openly that he would make no account of votes in favour of any of his colleagues. He was warmly oppoſed, his colleagues contending, that he ought either to leave the aſſembly free, or give up his preſidentſhip to one of the college, who would make the law, and not the pleaſure of the ſenators his rule. He begged of the conſuls, to favour him with their preſence at his tribunal; and aſked them, what they intended to do at the next Comitia for electing conſuls? Their anſwer was, that they would create new ones. The preſident, finding that theſe magiſtrates, popular in other reſpects, but no friends to this ſcheme, advanced with them into the aſſembly, and introducing them to the people, then begged they would declare, what they would do, if the Roman people, from a principal of gratitude, for the generous part they had acted in recovering the public liberty, and mindful of their other ſervices, both at home and abroad, ſhould re-elect them to the conſulſhip. They expreſſed the ſame intention as before. Duilius then praiſed them highly, for their diſintereſtedneſs, in having ſhown themſelves to the laſt, the very reverſe of the decemvirs; and then proceeded to the election.

After five new tribunes had been choſen, the preſident perceiving, that the other candidates would not be able to engage a majority in their favour, becauſe of the buſy oppoſition of his nine colleagues, diſmiſſed the aſſembly, without appointing another day to complete the election: alledging, that he had ſatisfied the law, which no where required, that the whole number of tribunes ſhould be choſen at once, provided room was left for compleating the number: to thoſe who had been choſen, he gave authority to name their colleagues. Then he read a copy of the act, which runs thus. " If I file a bill for the election of ten tribunes of the

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" people, and the whole number ſhould not be choſen " on the day of election, thoſe nominated, ſhall themſelves fill up the vacant places, and the perſons ſo " choſen, ſhall be deemed tribunes as legally elected as " themſelves." Thus Duilius, continuing ſteady to the laſt, in maintaining, that the republic could not have fifteen tribunes, defeated the ambitious views of his colleagues, and laid down his office, equally dear to ſenate and people.

CHAP. LXV.

Domeſtic broils. Depredations of the Æqui and Volſci.

THE new tribunes, in the choice of their colleagues, paid great reſpect to the recommendation of the ſenate; they even choſe two Patricians, Sp. Tarpeius, and A. Haterius, who had been conſuls *. The faſces were now transferred to L. Herminius, and T. Virginius Cœliomontanus, who being no great zealots in the cauſe of either party, their government was entirely pacific.

L. Trebonius, one of the tribunes, being much diſſatisfied with the Patricians, alledging they had overreached him, in the co-optation of the tribunes; when, at the ſame time, he had been betrayed by his colleagues, propoſed a bill, importing, " That whoever ſhould " hereafter hold the Comitia for electing tribunes, " ſhould not diſſolve the aſſembly, till the number of " ten tribunes be completed by the votes of the tribes." He paſſed his whole year in croſſing the ſenate, which procured him the title of *crabbed*.

Then M. Geganius Macerinus, and C. Julius ſucceeded to the conſulate. They quelled the cabals of the tribunes, which they were beginning to form againſt the young Patricians, without inveighing againſt the exceſs of their power, or ſinking below the dignity of their order. They kept the people quiet, by decreeing levies for the war againſt the Æqui and Volſci, which prevented any ſedition from taking place, aſſuring them,

* An election of tribunes by the college, was ſaid to be made by co-optation.

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that the only way to secure peace abroad, was to be quiet at home; for nothing contributed so much to raise the spirits of foreign nations, as domestic broils.

Thus, by their care to secure peace abroad, they had the good fortune to maintain tranquillity at home; though the one order never failed to take the advantage of the moderation of the other. When the young Patricians begun to be petulant, the people were giving no trouble. When the tribunes begun to support the weakest, they were little regarded at first, and at last, did not themselves escape without insults, especially about the close of the year; when, during the meetings of the nobility, licentiousness prevails, and the exercise of magisterial authority, generally becomes more languid.

The people's whole hopes, centered in choosing tribunes like Icilius; for, during the two last years, their tribunes were no more than a name. The elder senators, on their part, were not insensible, that their youth were turbulent, and carried things too far: but if the bounds of moderation were to be exceeded, they thought it better to have pride and spirit on their side, than on that of the opposition. So difficult is it to act with moderation in supporting liberty, as every one, under pretence of *levelling*, raises himself in proportion, as he depresses another. While we endeavour to have nothing to apprehend from others, we render ourselves terrible; to avoid oppression, we oppress, as if we could not help doing, or suffering injustice.

Titus Quinctius Capitolinus a fourth time, and Agrippa Furius were then made consuls, who found no sedition at home, nor war abroad; but Rome was threatened with both. The torrent of discord could be no longer stemmed, the tribunes and people being so much exasperated against the senate, that the assemblies resounded every day with accusations against some one or other of that order. On the first rumour of these domestic broils, the Æqui and Volsci, as if they had been the signal of war, took arms. Their chiefs, prompted by the love of plunder, persuaded them, "That the people "had thrown off all authority, and that the levies "could not even now be made, which had been ap-

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"pointed two years before. That it was for this very "reason, an army had not been sent against them: "the vigour of their discipline, had now degenerated "into licentiousness, and Rome was no longer consi- "dered as the native country, common to both orders, "and the resentment and revenge they formerly prac- "tised against other nations, they now turned against "one another. Now, now was the time to extirpate "these wolves, whilst they were tearing one another."

Having joined their forces, they first ravaged the country of the Latins, and meeting with no resistance, animated by the authors of the war, who were exulting with joy, they advanced to the very walls of Rome, plundering the country, on the side next the Æsquiline gate, and laying waste all before them in the face of the city by way of insult. Then driving off their booty with impunity, they returned to Corbio in good order, when Quinctius called an assembly of the people, where he spoke to the following effect.

CHAP. LXVII. *Speech of Quinctius.*

"THOUGH I can charge myself, O Romans, with "no crime, by me committed, it is with the ut- "most shame and confusion that I appear in your assem- "bly. You have seen it,—posterity will know it,— "That in the fourth consulship of Titus Quinctius, the "Æqui and Volsci, scarce a match for the Hernici alone, "came in arms to the very gates of Rome, and went a- "way again unchastised! Our manners indeed, and the "situation of our affairs, have long been in such a train, "that I had no reason to look for much good; but could "I have divined, that so great an ignominy had been "reserved for this year, I would by death or banish- "ment, if all other means had failed, have avoided the "office which I now fill. What! might Rome then "have been taken, had those who appeared at our gates "in arms, not been poltroons?—Rome taken, whilst I "was consul!—Of honours, I had enough;—of life, "enough,—Alas!—more than enough: I should have "died in my third consulship. But who are they, pray, "whom the dastardly enemy have thus despised? Is it

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"us the conſuls, or you Romans? If we are culpable "depoſe us, as unworthy the office we bear; nay, pu- "niſh us yet more ſeverely. If you are in fault, may "neither gods nor men puniſh your faults! Only may "you repent. No, Romans; the enemy's confidence is "not owing to the high opinion they entertain of their "own courage, nor the low eſtimate they make of yours. "They have been too often vanquiſhed;—driven out of "their camp;—amerced in their lands;—obliged to paſs "under the yoke, not to know themſelves and you. "Diſcord alone is the ruin of this city. The diſputes "between the ſenate and commons, while we ſet no "bounds to our domineering, nor you to your liberty; "while you are weary of Patrician, and we of Plebeian "magiſtrates, raiſe the courage of the enemy, and make "them preſumptuous. In the name of the immortal "Gods, what is it you would have? You deſired tri- "bunes for the ſake of peace; we granted them. You "were keen to have decemvirs; we conſented to their "creation. You grew weary of decemvirs; we obliged "them to reſign. Your hatred purſued them to their "private ſtations; and we ſuffered you to put to death, "or baniſh Patricians of the firſt rank and diſtinction in "the city. Then you would have your tribunes again; "you obtained them. We ſaw conſuls elected of your "own faction, and bore it, though to the prejudice of "the Patricians. We have alſo ſeen Patrician magi- "ſtracies, become a perquiſite of the commons. You "have the protection of your tribunes;—the privilege "of appeal, and your decrees wreathed about the necks "of the Patricians. Under pretence of equal and im- "partial laws, you have invaded our rights; we have "ſuffered it, and ſtill ſuffer it. Shall we never ſee an "end of civil diſcord? When ſhall we have one com- "mon intereſt, and one common country? Victorious "and triumphant as you are, you ſhew leſs temper than "we, under our defeat. Is it not enough, that we are "afraid of you? When you are to contend with us, "you can ſeize the Aventine-hill, you can retire to the "ſacred Mount. The enemy is at your gates, the "Eſquiline is almoſt in the hands of the enemy, and the

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" Volſci ſcaling your ramparts, yet nobody ſtirs to oppoſe it: but, againſt us you are valiant; againſt us you can arm with all diligence."

CHAP. LXVIII. *In continuation.*

" COME on then, beſiege the ſenate-houſe, make an hoſtile camp of the forum, fill the jails with the prime nobility, and when you have performed theſe mighty feats, then ſally out at the Eſquiline gate, whilſt your courage is up, againſt the enemy. If this be too much for ſuch ſpirits as yours, go and behold from your walls, your lands ravaged, your houſes plundered and in flames, and the whole country laid waſte with fire and ſword. But the public intereſt, by theſe means, is ſtill in a more deplorable ſtate: the whole country is in flames, the city is inveſted, and the enemy triumphant.

" In the name of the Gods, what will be the conſequence, with reſpect to your private concerns? There is not one of you, but will hear ſoon enough of his loſſes. And, what have you here to repair them? Will your tribunes make up and indemnify you, for your loſſes? They will give you words, as many as you pleaſe;—bring impeachments againſt the firſt men in the republic, in great abundance;—heap laws upon laws;—aſſemblies upon aſſemblies.—But,—will any of you return one denier the richer from theſe aſſemblies? What did you ever carry home to your wives and children, from theſe aſſemblies? Yes; I can tell you. Hatred, diſguſt, and animoſity, public and private; from the fatal effects of which, you have indeed been preſerved, not by your own integrity nor bravery, but by the aſſiſtance of others. Why, when you fought in the field, under us conſuls, and not in the forum, under your tribunes; when your ſhouts in battle terrified your enemies, and not the Roman Patricians in your aſſemblies; it was then you got booty, it was then you took lands from your enemies, it was then you acquired riches and glory to yourſelves and the ſtate, and returned in triumph to your families and your

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" gods. But now you ſuffer the enemy to retire en-
" riched at your expence. Stick then to your aſſem-
" blies;—take up your abode in the forum. Fly as you
" will from the neceſſity of fighting, it will hunt you,
" —it will ſtill purſue you. Was it ſo hard a matter to
" march out againſt the Æqui and Volſci? The war
" is already at your gates; if you do not drive it from
" thence, you will ſoon ſee it within your walls,—ſcal-
" ling the citadel and capitol, and chaſing you into
" your very houſes. Two years ago, the ſenate ordered
" levies for an army, to be ſent to the Algidus. But,
" —ever ſince that time, you have loitered at home
" ſquabling with one another, like ſo many fiſh-wives,
" ſatisfied compleatly with your preſent peace, and ne-
" ver reflecting, that that very peace, would ſoon bring
" war upon you from every quarter.

" I am ſenſible, I might fall upon a thouſand topics,
" that would pleaſe you better than the preſent, and
" be more agreeable to my own natural turn of mind:
" but neceſſity at preſent, rather obliges me to ſpeak
" truth, than flatter you to your ruin. I would wiſh,
" O Romans, to give you pleaſure;—but to give you
" happineſs, however, you may be diſpoſed with reſpect
" to me, is my more ardent wiſh. Our natural temper
" is ſuch, that we liſten more willingly to him who
" flatters us for his own intereſt, than to the man who
" has no earthly view, but the good of the community.
" You imagine, perhaps, that thoſe flatterers, thoſe
" worſhippers of the people, who will neither ſuffer
" you to live in peace at home, nor do yourſelves juſtice
" abroad, have nothing at heart, in uſing their in-
" fluence with you, but your intereſts. You are groſly
" miſtaken.—You are only their tools to promote their
" own intereſt and honour.

" When domeſtic peace and unanimity prevail, they
" find they have no buſineſs,—no credit; and they had
" rather lead to tumult and ſedition, than be taken no
" notice of at all. If then you can at length be unde-
" ceived, and feel in what manner you have been led
" by the noſes: only reſume your wonted ſpirit and
" manners, inſtead of this new plan of operation, and
" there is no puniſhment to which I will not ſubmit, if

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" I do not in a few days, diſperſe and drive to perdi-
" tion, theſe ſanguinary depredators, and carry all the
" terror of this war, which gives you ſuch pain at pre-
" ſent, from the walls and gates of Rome, to their own
" cities."

CHAP. LXIX. *Good effects of Quinctius's Speech.*

NEVER were the commons better pleaſed with the imbelliſhments of a ſweet-lipped tribune, than they were with the ſevere commentary of this generous conſul. The youth, whoſe refuſal, in conteſts of this kind, was a powerful reſource againſt the endeavours of the ſenate, breathed nothing but arms and war. The ſight of the farmers, who had fled to the city for refuge, many of them deſpoiled of their lands, and their wounds ſtill bleeding, whilſt they painted ſcenes of diſtreſs ſtill more affecting, filled all the citizens with a juſt deſire of revenge.

When Quinctius entered the ſenate, the eyes of all were fixed on him, admiring him as the only aſſertor of the majeſty of the Roman name. The principal ſenators obſerved, " That his ſpeech did honour to the
" office he filled, to the former conſulſhips he had held,
" and in fine, to his whole life, illuſtrious by the moſt
" glorious offices of the ſtate, which he frequently had
" bore, and more frequently deſerved. That other
" conſuls, by betraying the dignity of their order, had
" made their court to the people, or had made them
" ſtill more obdurate and intractable, by ſupporting
" the rights of the ſenate, with too much haughtineſs
" and auſterity. But that Titus Quinctius, had adapted
" his diſcourſe to the times, and without loſing ſight
" of the dignity of the ſenate, had conſtantly kept in
" view, the union and reconciliation of parties. They
" unanimouſly requeſted him and his colleague, to pro-
" vide for the ſafety of the ſtate; at the ſame time, re-
" commending to the tribunes, to act in concert with
" the conſuls, for drawing the enemy from the gates
" and walls of the city, and to engage the people to
" act with chearfulneſs and ſubmiſſion, in every thing
" ordered by the ſenate, in ſo dangerous a conjuncture.

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"That it was the genius of Rome, that upon this extraordinary occaſion, implored the aid of the tribunes, when their lands were laid waſte, and the city in danger of being taken."

The levies were decreed, without a diſſenting voice, and made without oppoſition. Then the conſuls addreſſed themſelves to the multitude in ſubſtance as follows. "At preſent, their time was too ſacred, for examining the excuſes of thoſe who had not given in their names.—The youth muſt all be ready, by day-break to-morrow, in the Campus Martius. At the concluſion of the war, they would then enquire into theſe matters, and treat all as deſerters, whoſe excuſe ſhould be found intenible."

Next day, the youth aſſembled accordingly, when each cohort choſe its own centurions, and had two ſenators placed at the head of it. All this, we find, done with ſuch expedition, that the enſigns were ready, and brought from the arſenal by the queſtors, and the troops fairly on their march, by the fourth hour of the day. This new army, joined with a few veteran cohorts, who followed as volunteers, halted after a march of ten miles from Rome. The next day, they came in view of the enemy, and encamped hard by them at Corbio. On the third day, both ſides were eager to come to an engagement, the Romans prompted by reſentment, and the enemy, by a conviction that they could expect no quarter from an enemy, from whom they had ſo often revolted.

CHAP. LXX.

The Æqui and Volſci ſeverely chaſtiſed.

WHEN both conſuls are in the ſame Roman army, they are veſted with equal powers. But Agrippa, at this time, yielded his authority to his colleague, convinced, that nothing is more contrary to the proſperity of great undertakings; than a divided command. Quinctius repaid this compliment as he ought to have done, by communicating to his colleague all his counſels, acting in concert with him in every inſtance, giv-

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ing him a ſhare of the glory in all ſucceſſes, and making him his equal in all things without exception.

In the action, Quinctius commanded the right wing, Agrippa the left, Sp. Poſthumius Albus, the lieutenant, the centre, and Ser. Sulpicius, another lieutenant-general, commanded the cavalry. The foot on the right, fought with extraordinary bravery, and found a vigorous reſiſtance on the part of the Volſci.

Ser. Sulpicius, with the horſe, broke through the enemy's main body, and might have returned the ſame way, before the enemy had time to rally and put themſelves in form, but he thought it better to charge them in the rear: and had not the Æquian and Volſcian cavalry come up, and attacked him in his own way, and by that means, ſuſpended the fortune of the day, he would in a moment, have put them to flight, as by his attack, they were greatly diſconcerted, both in front and in rear. Sulpicius then cried out to his troops, "That now was their time;—that they would be immediately ſurrounded, and all communication with "their own army would be cut off, if by a vigorous "effort, they did not diſpatch the enemy's horſe. To "put them to flight, and let them live, was doing nothing; they muſt diſpatch both men and horſes, that "neither might return to renew the battle. They will "never be able to ſtand before you now, that you "have already broke through the main body of their "foot."

Theſe orders were not given in vain. The whole Roman cavalry, charged the enemy at the ſame inſtant, and put them to flight. Many of them were tumbled from their horſes, and both together tranſfixed by the ſpears of the Romans. The enemy's cavalry were thus entirely defeated

They turned then upon the foot, having diſpatched an aid de-camp, with the news of their ſucceſs to the conſuls, who had alſo made ſome impreſſion on the wings that oppoſed them. This intelligence redoubled their ardour, and occaſioned a great conſternation among the Æqui, who were already giving way. The centre of the enemy's army, which had been thrown into diſorder by the Roman horſe, was the firſt that broke. Quinc-

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tius bore down the left wing, but on the right there was much hotter work.

Then Agrippa, who was brave and full of fire, seeing the Romans carrying all before them, excepting where he commanded, snatched the standards from the ensigns, and advancing with them in person, threw some of them into the midst of the enemy's battalions. The soldiers, through fear of losing them, which would have been a great disgrace, fell upon the enemy like lions. Thus was the victory rendered complete, on the side of the Romans. By this time, Quinctius's aid-de-camp came to inform them, that he had beat the enemy and was ready to fall upon the enemy's camp, the moment he knew they had done their business in the left wing; and if they were already masters of the field, he ordered them to join him immediately, that all the army might share alike in the spoil. Agrippa, now victorious, advanced to his colleague, and after mutual congratulations on their mutual successes, began the attack. The few that guarded the camp being easily managed, they broke through the works without opposition.

The consuls marched back the army to Rome, laden with the spoils they had taken from the enemy, exclusive of all they had lost in the plunder of their country, which they now totally recovered. It does not appear, that they either demanded, or that the senate decreed them a triumph; nor is there any reason assigned for their neglecting, or despairing to obtain that honour. As far as conjectures can be formed at this distance of time, I am apt to imagine, that as the senate, some time before, had refused the honour of a triumph to the consuls Valerius and Horatius, who, besides the war with the Æqui and Volsci, had the honour of finishing the war with the Sabines. The present consuls, had too much modesty to demand a triumph; lest, if they had obtained it, men would have been apt to conclude, that the senate paid more respect to persons, than to merit.

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CHAP. LXXI.

The Roman People made arbitrators.

THIS victory, so honourably obtained over their enemies, was disgraced by a selfish award of the people, relative to some contested lands of their allies. The Arcini and Ardeates, had long disputed the right to a small territory, for which they had fought many a battle. Tired at length of the calamities of war, they agreed to submit the whole, to the decision of the Roman people. When the cause came to be pled, both parties exerted their utmost in an assembly of the people, authorised by the magistrates. The proof was taken, and the vote ready to be put round. when P. Scaptius, an aged plebeian, rose up, and addressing himself to the consuls, said, "That were he only allowed to speak in behalf of "the state, he could set the Roman people to rights in "this matter." When the consuls refused to listen to him, and ordered him to be removed, as a troublesome fellow; he still insisted, that the public interest was betrayed, and appealed to the tribunes. These gentlemen, rather governed by the multitude, than the multitude by them, gave him permission to speak what he pleased to the people, who were very willing to hear him.

He then told them, "That he was now eighty-three "years of age; that he had carried arms on that very "spot, which was now the bone of contention; that he "was not then a young man, having made twenty "campaigns before the battle of Corioli; that, there-"fore, he would give a candid account of the matter, "which at so distant a period, might have escaped o-"thers, but was still fresh in his memory. That the "territory in question, was a pertinent of Corioli, which "being subjected to the Romans, the land of course, "became the property of the Roman people. That it "surprised him, how in all the world, the Arcini and "Ardeates, who had never claimed this territory, "while Corioli existed as a state, could expect to ascer-"tain their claim to it, by making the Romans, who "had the legal right, arbitrators in the case. That

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" for his own part, he had not long to live, and ſince " he could do no more now, when he was old, he could " not help claiming poſſeſſion by his feeble voice, of a " property, to the acquiſition of which, he had con- " tributed all in his power when young And that it " was his earneſt advice to the people, that they ſhould " not, by a miſtaken and fooliſh modeſty, paſs judgment " againſt themſelves."

CHAP. LXXII.

The People adjudge in their own favour.

THE conſuls, finding that the multitude liſtened to Scaptius, with every mark of attention and ſatisfaction, called Gods and men to witneſs their diſſent from the notorious injuſtice, juſt about to be committed, and calling the chief men of the ſtate, with them went about imploring the tribunes; " To uſe their beſt en- " deavours, to diſuade the people from introducing the " practice among arbitrators, of adjudging to themſelves " a ſubject ſubmitted to their deciſion, which is not " only infamous in itſelf, but of the moſt pernicious " tendency: for, ſuppoſe in this caſe, their claim was " well founded, and for that reaſon, a concern for " their own intereſt became juſtifiable; yet it would be " highly impolitical: for the acquiſition of this terri- " tory, would be but a poor compenſation for the im- " putation of injuſtice, and the loſs of the friendſhip of " their allies. Moreover, in point of character and " credit, the loſs was irreparable. Shall the deputies of " theſe ſtates carry home the news? Shall it be told to " the allies, and the enemies of Rome? The firſt will " be ſorry;—the laſt will rejoice. Is it poſſible to " imagine, that the neighbouring ſtates, would aſcribe " to the reveries of old Scaptius, ſo infamous a judg- " ment? He will, indeed, be always remembered when " this affair is mentioned; but the Roman people, will " be for ever branded with chicanry and barratry, in " making a booty of other mens law-ſuits. For, would " any judge on earth, even in a private affair, ſeize the " property in queſtion, as a perquiſite of his own?

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"No! Scaptius himself, although it was plain he had "out lived all shame, would scarce be guilty of so gross "a deed."

Thus did the consuls and principal senators remonstrate, with all the warmth in their power, but avarice and Scaptius prevailed, and the tribes being called over, adjudged the territory to themselves.

Had the affair been referred to other judges, that the claim of the Roman people could not have been set aside, is not denied; but the justice of their pretensions, in the present case, does not lessen the infamy of their sentence. It gave the senate more concern, and to them appeared in a more iniquitous point of view, than it did to the claimants themselves.—For the remainder of the year, Rome had no disturbance, either at home or abroad.

The END *of the* FIRST VOLUME.

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TITUS LIVIUS's ROMAN HISTORY,

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH,

AND

ILLUSTRATED WITH NOTES,

CRITICAL, HISTORICAL, AND GEOGRAPHICAL:

For the Use of STUDENTS in Humanity.

By WILLIAM GORDON,

Author of the UNIVERSAL ACCOUNTANT.

Scire tuum nihil eſt, niſi te ſcire hoc ſciat alter.
PER. Sat. 1.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

GLASGOW:

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MDCCLXXXIII.

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ERRATA ET CORRIGENDA.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

Page 73. line 13. for *and*, read *not*. p. 77. l. 17. after *reason*, r. *to*. p. 108. l. 24. r. *voluntarily*. p. 130. chap. 17. l. 3. r. *Vincæ*,—*recruiting*. p. 138. l. 12. f. *word*, r. *words*. p. 155. l. 40. r. *shall I*, *as if*. p. 163. l. 6. f. *in*, r. *to*. p. 167. l. 7. r. *defrauded them of the plunder*. p. 178. l. 14. f. *capitol*, r. *capital*. p. 197. l. 15. r. *declaring*. p. 203. l. 10. r. sea-coast. p. 204. l. 30. after *parade*, place a ; p. 220. l. 7th from the foot, f. *bare*, r. *bore*. p. 224. f. *contradictive*, r. *contradictive*. p. 297. f. *distinguish*, r. *distinguished*.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

Page 29. l. 10th from the foot, *dele* not. p. 55. l. 5. of chap. 37. 9. *Vulturnum*. p. 64. l. 3. f. oration, r. *ovation;* and l. 30. after *purpose*, place a *comma*. p. 88. l. 24. r. was that which. p. 99. l. 9. 8. without a view of returns. p. 131. l. 24. r. Whilst the war with the Falisci, *&c.* p. 135. l. 9. r. they were routed, *&c.* l. 16. r. but they were kept, *&c.* and l. 13. f. sides, r. *side*. p. 138. l. 2. f. deputes, r. *deputies*. p. 156. l. 2. f. likely, r. *lively*. p. 162. l. 19. from the foot, f. inadvertently, r. *inadvertently*. p. 208. l. 2. f. presumpuous, r. *presumptuous*.

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TITUS LIVIUS's Roman History.

BOOK IV.

Disputes with the Tribunes, relative to intermarriages between the Orders; the participation of State-Offices, and a division of the Lands. Institution of Military Tribunes with Consular power, and the Quæstorship. Wars with the Volsci, the Æqui, Fidenates, *&c.*

CHAP. I.

New Laws proposed by Canuleius, not relished by the Senate.

THE former Consuls were succeeded in their office, by M. Genutius and C. Curtius. They had a troublesome year both at home and abroad: for, at its commencement, C. Canuleius, one of the tribunes, proposed a law for permitting intermarriages between the Patricians and Plebeians, which the Patricians considered as a pollution of their blood, and a perturbation of family distinctions: and what was at first only hinted with some degree of diffidence by the tribunes, that the people should be at liberty to choose

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one of the conſuls out of their own order, was afterwards carried ſo high, that nine tribunes preferred a bill, 'Impowering the people to elect the conſuls indiſcriminately, out of the ſenate or people;' which, ſhould it be paſſed into a law, the Patricians imagined, would not only bring them down to the level of the meaneſt commoner, but would effectually wreſt every ſhadow of power from them, to entail it upon the commons.

Wherefore, they received the news with joy, that the Ardeates, in reſentment of the judgment given againſt them in the property ſubmitted, had abandoned the party of the Romans, that the Vejentes were laying waſte the frontiers of the Roman domains, and that the Volſci and Æqui were in motion, on account of the fortifications raiſed at Virrugo: ſo much did they prefer even an infuccefsful war, to a diſhonourable peace.

Wherefore, upon theſe advices, which were much exaggerated, to drown the clamours of the tribunes, with the alarms of ſo many wars, the ſenate ordered the levies to be made, and preparations for war, with more keenneſs, if poſſible, than in the conſulſhip of T. Quinctius. Then C. Canuleius declared, in a few words, in full ſenate, that they might ſave themſelves the trouble of impoſing on the people, by the terrors of war, to divert their attention from the new laws; for, while he had breath, they ſhould not enliſt a man, until the laws propoſed by him and his colleagues, were received; and then went out directly and aſſembled the people.

CHAP. II. *The Conſuls remonſtrate.*

AT this time, the conſuls uſed every argument to exaſperate the ſenate againſt the tribune; who, on his part, inflamed the people againſt the conſuls. The conſuls contended; 'That the madneſs of the tribunes, was no longer to be endured. That matters 'were now come to an extremity. That the enemies 'without doors were nothing, compared to thoſe in 'their boſom. That this evil was not to be imputed to 'the people, and their tribunes only, the ſenators and 'conſuls, were even more culpable.—That whatever is 'countenanced and rewarded in a city, gains ground

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'and increaſes prodigiouſly. That it was in this manner, our greateſt ſtateſmen and generals were formed, '—That in Rome, nothing was now conſidered or rewarded but ſedition, which never failed to procure 'honour and reſpect to all and ſundries, its authors and 'abettors. That they might look back upon the majeſty of the ſenate, when they received it from their 'their fathers, and compare it with the ſtate in which 'they were like to tranſmit it to their children: they 'would then ſee, whether they had reaſon to boaſt 'with the people, that their privileges were exceedingly 'improved and enlarged. That the ſame evils would 'conſtantly prevail, whilſt ſedition carried all before it, 'and its authors ſo highly diſtinguiſhed. What a deteſtable project is this, which C. Canuleius has attempted? 'He is for mingling the blood of the nobles, with the 'ſcum of the people;—confounding the public and private auſpices;—leaving nothing pure, nothing uncorrupted in the ſtate, that diſtinctions being put out 'of the way, a man might be equally a ſtranger to himſelf and his relations. For, what elſe could poſſibly 'be the deſign of ſuch prepoſterous marriages, but that 'the fathers and people, ſhould couple together with 'as little ceremony as wild beaſts? So that a child 'born of ſuch marriages, half Patrician and half Plebeian, would be in a kind of war with himſelf, being 'totally ignorant of his rank and family, and the ſacrifices proper for his ſtate: and, as it were not enough 'to confound all rights human and divine, theſe diſturbers of the public peace, have the impudence to lift 'their eyes to the conſulſhip itſelf. That at firſt they 'had only talked of electing one Plebeian conſul, but 'now they riſe in their demands, and inſiſt, that the 'people may elect conſuls out of either order, as *they* 'pleaſe: and, can any one entertain a doubt, that they 'would nominate the moſt turbulent of their own order. 'Then would the Canulei and Icilii, ſtrut about with 'the faſces. They truſted, however, that the moſt 'high Jupiter, would never ſuffer the majeſty of the 'conſulſhip to fall into ſuch contempt; and for their 'own parts, they had rather die a thouſand deaths, 'than concur in ſo infamous a diſgrace. That it was a

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'certain fact, if their anceſtors could have divined, that 'by making ſo many conceſſions, the people were not 'to become more tractable, but on the contrary, more 'aſſuming, by making demand upon demand, every 'one of them more unreaſonable than the former, they 'would, at the beginning, have fought it fairly, what-'ever their diſadvantages, rather than have ſuch laws 'wreathed about their necks. Becauſe they had been 'indulged at firſt in tribunes, they muſt be again in-'dulged. To ſee an end of their diſſentions, were im-'poſſible, ſo long as ſenators and tribunes exiſted in the 'ſame ſtate. Either the Patrician order, or theſe de-'magogues muſt be kicked out of the community. It 'is better late than never at all, to ſtem the torrent of 'their inſolence and temerity. Shall they ſow diſſention 'at home, and thereby arm the neighbouring nations 'againſt us; whilſt, at the ſame time, they prohibit the 'citizens from repelling an invaſion they had brought 'upon them, and not ſmart for their impudence? Shall 'they give every encouragement to the enemy, but the 'ceremony of an invitation, and not permit an army to 'be levied to make head againſt them? But this Ca-'nuleius, has the effrontery to declare in open ſenate, 'that if the Patricians will not receive his laws, as thoſe 'of a deſpotic conqueror, he will not ſuffer a ſingle 'man to enliſt. Is not this an open declaration, a plain 'menace, that he will betray his country?—That he 'will ſuffer it to be inveſted, and calmly ſtand by and 'ſee it taken? Such a ſentiment! with what courage 'muſt it inſpire;—not the Roman people;—but their 'declared enemies, the Æqui, Volſci, and Vejentes? 'Conducted by this demagogue, can they look for any 'thing leſs, than the poſſeſſion of the citadel and capitol, 'if the fathers, together with their dignity and civil 'rights, do not alſo ſurrender to the tribunes, their 'courage and reſolution? But, they would have them 'to know, that the conſuls were determined to take the 'lead in extirpating wickedneſs at home, before they 'ſtirred to oppoſe the incurſions of the enemy.'

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CHAP. III. *Speech of Canuleius.*

WHILST these things were warmly insisted on in the senate, Canuleius in defence of his laws, and in opposition to the consuls, spoke to the following effect: 'I think I have frequently, upon former occasions, observed, O Romans, in what contempt the 'fathers hold you, and how unworthy they think you 'of living within the same walls with them; but at no 'time so strongly marked as this day, in the violence and 'fury they discovered in their opposition to our laws; 'in which, to what more do we pretend, but only to 'remind them, that we are their fellow-citizens, and 'though we have not the same fortunes, we, however, 'have the honour to be inhabitants of the same country? By one of these laws, we demand the liberty of 'marriage with their order, a liberty seldom refused to 'neighbours; nay, even strangers. Nay more, we have 'given the right of citizenship, a circumstance of greater 'consideration, than a family alliance to enemies;—'even conquered enemies. By the other, we claim 'nothing new, but what has always been the prerogative of the people, to bestow honours on whom they 'shall think proper. What occasion then for all this 'uproar, as if heaven and earth were falling to ruin, 'that they are ready to tear me to pieces in their senate-house?—that they threaten to have no regard to our 'persons, and to violate the power of the tribunes, all 'sacred as it is? If the Roman people be allowed to 'vote as they please, and confer the consulship, on 'whom they think proper, and if a Plebeian has room 'to hope, that by his merit, he may rise to the highest 'honours of the state; must Rome of necessity sink at 'once? Must this empire be unavoidably overturned? 'And does the same idea of impropriety attend the election of a Consul from among the people, that would 'attend the promotion of a slave, or a freed man to 'that dignity? Have you any conception, Romans, of 'the contempt, in which you are held? If they could, 'they would deprive you of the common light. You 'should not breathe, speak, nor appear in the human

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'form. Nay, but that a Plebian ſhould become a 'conſul.—Good Gods! what a prepoſterous ſuppoſition! Though we are not admitted to inſpect the Faſti, 'and the annals of the pontiffs, pray, do not we know 'what every ſtranger knows, that the conſuls ſucceeded 'the kings in their office, and that they had neither 'power, nor pre-eminence, but what the latter had 'before them? Do you imagine we are ſo ignorant of our 'own hiſtory, that we never heard that Numa Pompilius, who was neither a Patrician, nor even a Roman 'citizen, was called from his farm in the country of the 'Sabines, and by order of the people, and the authority 'of the fathers, made king of Rome?—That, thereafter, L. Tarquinius, by birth, ſo far from being a 'Roman, that he was not even an Italian, the ſon of 'Demaratus of Corinth, a temporary citizen of Tarquinii, was nevertheleſs, in the life-time of Ancus's 'children, placed upon the throne? That Servius 'Tullius after him, the ſon of a captive woman of 'Corniculum, whoſe father no mortal knew, whoſe 'mother was a ſlave, attained the ſovereignty, by his 'excellent qualities and extraordinary merit. Why 'ſhould I mention Titus Tatius the Sabine, whom Romulus, the founder of this city, thought proper to 'aſſociate with himſelf in the adminiſtration? Wherefore, whilſt no man in whom virtue ſhined conſpicuous, 'was deſpiſed on account of his deſcent, Rome flouriſhed 'and grew great. You may now, if you pleaſe, bluſh 'at the very idea of a Plebeian conſul, but our anceſtors 'were not aſhamed to have ſtrangers for their kings, 'nor has this city been ſhut againſt foreigners who had 'merit to recommend them, even ſince the extinction of 'regal power. Have we not, ſince that time, received 'the family of the Claudii among us, from the country 'of the Sabines, and not only admitted them to the 'freedom of the city, but alſo into the order of the Patricians? Shall a foreigner become a Patrician, and 'afterwards conſul, and a Roman citizen be excluded 'the conſulſhip, becauſe he is a Plebeian? Do we believe then, in the name of wonder, that it is impoſſible 'for the people to produce a man of merit and courage, 'qualified to diſcharge the duties of the cabinet and the

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'field, reſembling Numa, Tarquin, and Servius? And 'if one of this character happen to be born among us, 'ſhall we never ſuffer him to approach the helm of ſtate? 'Shall we rather chooſe to have men for conſuls, of the 'complexion of decemvirs, the moſt wicked of mankind, 'and all of them Patricians, rather than men reſembling 'the beſt of our kings, who could not boaſt of their 'high deſcent?'

CHAP. IV. *In continuation.*

'I GRANT you that no Plebeian has been made con-'ſul, ſince the expulſion of the kings: and pray, 'what then? Are we never to think of any new inſti-'tution? In an infant ſtate as this is, how many regu-'lations muſt ſtill be wanting; and muſt theſe, however 'neceſſary and eſſential, be for ever excluded? In the 'reign of Romulus, who ever heard of prieſts or augurs? 'but they were inſtituted by Numa Pompilius. In the 'city there was originally no cenſus, no diſtribution of 'the people into centuries and claſſes, till they were ap-'pointed by Servius Tullius. The title of conſul never 'exiſted, till conſuls were created after the expulſion of 'kings. Was there ever a dictator, either in name or 'authority, till the ſenate brought that office into ex-'iſtence? There was a time when tribunes, ediles, and 'quæſtors were unknown; but it was determined that 'they ſhould be. Within theſe ten years, we made de-'cemvirs for compiling laws, and we have alſo unmade 'them. Who can imagine, in a city which is to endure 'for ever, and is increaſing to infinity, but that new 'offices, prieſthoods, privileges and laws, will be inſti-'tuted both for families and individuals? This very 'law, which prohibits intermarriages between the two 'orders of the ſtate, was it not paſſed by the decemvirs 'a few years ago, to the diſgrace of the public, and 'the detriment of the people? Can any thing in effect 'be more expreſſive of contempt, more ſcandalous and 'diſgraceful, than to declare one part of the city ſo im-'pure and unclean, that it is unworthy to be allied 'with the other in marriage? What is it elſe than to 'be ſubjected to a ſequeſtration, a baniſhment within

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'these walls? They are all upon the watch to prevent 'every connexion with us by affinity or relation, and par- 'ticularly that there may be no mixture of blood. 'What is the meaning of all this? If this nobility of 'yours has been polluted in this way, which, after all 'the greatest part of you, who are descended of the 'Albans or Sabines, owe neither to your birth nor your 'families, but to your admission into the order of sena- 'tors, an honour, to which you were either promoted 'by the kings, or after their expulsion, by the suffrages 'of the people. Why do not you lay your wise heads 'together, to preserve the pretended purity of your 'blood, by chusing neither wives among us yourselves, 'nor permitting your female line to marry any man, 'but a Patrician? No Plebeian will force a Patrician 'lady. That is an orbit in which a Patrician can only 'move. Nobody will force you to enter into a marri- 'age contract, unless it be agreeable to yourselves. But 'to prohibit it by law, and to make the marriage of a 'Plebeian with a Patrician felony, is affronting us in the 'highest degree. Why have you not passed the same 'interdiction with respect to the rich and the poor? At 'all times, and in every nation upon earth, it has been 'left to the choice of parties, to settle upon the family, 'into which a woman should be disposed of in marriage, 'and upon that, out of which they should take a wife; 'but this liberty you restrain by the sanction of a law 'the most insulting in the world, that you may make a 'breach in civil society, and split one community into 'two. Why do not you also forbid the Plebeians, to 'live in the neighbourhood of the Patricians, to walk 'in the same streets with them, to eat at the same table, 'or to assemble with them in the forum? And what is 'the difference, pray, in all these things, in the marri- 'age of a Patrician with a Plebeian, or of a Plebeian 'with a senator's daughter? Would the privileges of 'the orders be invaded or infringed by an instance of 'this kind? Not at all. For the children will always 'be of the rank with the father. In short, we have no 'other view in moving this affair, but to be treated as 'men and citizens; and the man who will set up his 'face to oppose so just a requisition, can have no other

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'motive, but to make us appear in the light of scoun-
'drels and vagabonds.'

CHAP. V. *Conclusion.*

'BUT to conclude: only let me ask you, is the so-
'vereign power in the *people of Rome*, or in *you*,
'Patricians? Did we expell the kings, to render *you*
'absolute, or to purchase a liberty, which should be
'common to, and equal in *all?* I hope it will not be
'denied that the people can, at their pleasure, make a
'law; and will you then, the moment a law is proposed,
'pretend to list them immediately for the war? and the
'moment that I, in virtue of my office as tribune, begin
'to call upon the tribes for their suffrages, shall you,
'by your consular authority, oblige the youth immedi-
'ately to take the military oath, and march them to
'the camp, threatening both the people and their tri-
'bune? Have you not twice already felt the effects of
'cudgelling the people into an involuntary obedience?
'Perhaps you dropped the argument, out of regard to
'our safety; or rather did you keep your temper, be-
'cause the stronger party was also the more moderate?
'Believe me, Romans, there will be no bloodshed on
'this occasion neither. Your temper they will always
'try; but as for your strength, that is quite a different
'affair. Wherefore, hear me, consuls, whether these
'wars you talk of, be real or fictitious, the people shall
'be ready at a call, if, by the ties of marriage, and
'mutual affinity, these antient privileges, the two or-
'ders be again united, restored to their natural rights,
'and be made one people: and if, by real merit, the
'citizens may look up to offices of distinction in the state,
'without regard to adventitious circumstances; if such,
'in conjunction with you, are admitted to a share in the
'administration of public affairs, to demonstrate that
'they are equally called upon, in the annual magistra-
'cy, to command and obey, in which alone, true li-
'berty consists. But if these laws are opposed, talk for
'ever of wars, exaggerate the danger as much as you
'will—not a man shall enter the service—not a man
'shall take arms—not a man shall expose his life for

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'such imperious lords, with whom he can neither share 'the public honours of the state, nor private alliance 'by marriage.'

CHAP. VI.

Military Tribunes of either order, proposed to supersede Consuls.

THE Consuls having also gone out to the assembly of the people, from long speeches the parties now fell to altercation. The tribune put the question, why a Plebeian might not attain to the consulship? It was answered, perhaps with some truth, though to little purpose on the present occasion, that no Plebeian had a right to the auspices, for which reason the decemvirs had declared such marriages void, as in a heterogeneous race, the auspices might be rendered uncertain.

It is impossible to express the indignation of the people, when they heard that they were to be denied the auspices, as men hateful to the immortal gods. And as in their tribune they had a most intrepid champion, and were themselves no less determined, the fathers were at last obliged to suffer the law concerning marriages to pass; persuaded, that from this concession, the tribunes would be induced to drop entirely the other bill respecting the Plebeian consuls, or at least suspend it till the conclusion of the war; and that the people, satisfied with obtaining a repeal of the marriage-act, would chearfully agree to the levies. But as Canuleius's victory over the fathers had raised his credit and influence among the people to an extraordinary height, the other tribunes emulous of his glory, exerted all their influence to carry the law they had proposed; and though the reports of the impending war became every day more flagrant, they still obstructed the levies.

The consuls finding that nothing effectual could be concluded in the senate, by reason of the interruption they met with from the tribunes, held meetings of the nobility in their own houses; to whom it appeared evident, that matters were now come to that pass, that they must yield the victory, either to the enemy abroad,

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or to the people at home. Valerius and Horatius were the only gentlemen of conſular dignity, who were not preſent at theſe meetings. Claudius's advice armed the hands of the conſuls againſt the tribunes; but the Quintii, Cincinnatus, and Capitolinus declared againſt blood and ſlaughter, or even offering violence to the perſons of thoſe, whom, by a ſolemn engagement with the people, they had obliged themſelves to hold ſacred and inviolable. In theſe private aſſemblies, it was a laſt agreed, that they ſhould allow military tribunes, with conſular power to be choſen indifferently out of either order; but that the mode of election with reſpect to conſuls ſhould ſuffer no alteration.

This meaſure was received and cordially embraced both by the people and their tribunes. The Comitia was then ſummoned for the election of three military tribunes with conſular power; upon which, all thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt in the cauſe of ſedition, either in ſpeaking or acting, eſpecially the tribunitian gentlemen, ran on all ſides of the forum, dreſt in white robes, ſoliciting votes. The Patricians ſeeing them ſo active, and deſpairing of obtaining any office of diſtinction, from a people ſo exaſperated, at the ſame time, were there hopes of ſucceeding, unable to bear the thoughts of aſſociating with colleagues of Plebeian rank, they were at firſt determined not to ſtand for the office. At laſt, however, yielding to the remonſtrances of the leading men of their party, they offered their ſervice to fill the new offices, that they might not ſeem to have abandoned their country with their ſhare in its government. The reſult of this aſſembly ſhewed, that there is a material difference between a people in the heat and fury of diſputes for liberty and honour, and when they act with diſpaſſionate coolneſs, after theſe diſputes are over.

The people elected none to the office of military tribunes, but Patricians only, being fully ſatisfied, that regard had been ſhown to their demand. Where ſhall we now find in any one man, that moderation, that equity, that greatneſs of ſoul, which were then ſo conſpicuous in a whole people?

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CHAP. VII.

Creation of Military Tribunes, who soon lay down their office, because there was an informality in their election.

IN the year 310, from the foundation of Rome, A. Sempronius Atratinus, L. Atilius, Titus Cæcilius, being chosen military tribunes, for the first time, in the room of consuls, entered upon their office accordingly; and the unanimity which subsisted at home, during their administration, contributed not a little to maintain peace abroad. Some authors are silent, with respect to the bill for electing consuls from among the people, assigning as a reason for the election of three military tribunes, invested with the authority and ensigns of the consuls, that besides the revolt of the Ardeates, the Romans had, at the same time upon their hands, a war with the Æqui, the Volsci, and Vejentes, too much for the management of two consuls at the same time.

The establishment of this office, however, was not permanent; for, by a decree of the augurs, they laid down their office, in three months after they had entered upon it, because some essential formality had been omitted in their election, C. Curtius, the præses at the Comitia, having made some mistake in pitching the tent.

About this time, ambassadors came from Ardea, complaining of the injustice done them; but in such terms, as showed no intention of renouncing their treaty and alliance with the Romans, provided a restitution of their territory could be obtained. The senate returned them for answer: 'That from the judgment of the people, 'there was no appeal to their tribunal, and as they had 'the sanction of no law, nor precedent for reversing 'the sentence of the people, such a proceeding might 'be of dangerous consequence to that harmony, which 'ought to subsist between the two orders of the state. 'But, if the Ardeates would be good enough to wait 'for a favourable opportunity, and leave it to the wisdom of the senate, to find means of redressing their 'grievance, they would have no reason to repent, on a

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'future day, of their condeſcenſion; nor to imagine, 'that the ſenate were not hearty in their endeavours to 'prevent their being injured, and careful, if at any time 'they had reaſon of complaint, to remove the cauſe, 'with all the diſpatch in their power.' The ambaſſadors promiſed to lay the matter before their council of ſtate, and were diſmiſſed with marks of reſpect.

As the city now had no ſupreme magiſtrates, the ſenate met and named an inter-rex. The main queſtion now, during this interregnum, was whether conſuls or military tribunes ſhould be appointed to the government, which was ſubject of debate for ſeveral days. The inter-rex and ſenate, inſiſted to have a Comitia for electing conſuls, but the people and their tribunes, for military tribunes. The ſenate prevailed, becauſe the people being determined, at all events, to chuſe Patricians, grew indifferent about a queſtion that could anſwer no end: And their leaders themſelves, preferred an election where they could not appear as candidates, to that where they were ſure to be caſt as unworthy. The tribunes too, out of reſpect to the principal ſenators, gave up a point, which they ſaw they could not maintain. T. Quinctius Barbatus, the inter-rex created L. Paperius Mugilanus, and L. Sempronius Atratinus conſuls. During their adminiſtration, the treaty with the Ardeates was renewed, which is an inconteſtible proof that they were conſuls that year, though the antient annals, as well as the regiſter of magiſtrates, make no mention of either. It would ſeem, that military tribunes having been created in the beginning of the year, the names of the conſuls who ſucceeded them, were omitted, as if the military tribunſhip had continued in force to the end of the year. Licinus Macer declares, that their names are recorded in the treaty with the Ardeates, and alſo found in the linen records, in the temple of Monita. Notwithſtanding of all the alarms from the neighbouring nations, Rome enjoyed peace both at home and abroad.

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CHAP. VIII. *Cenſors created.*

WHETHER military tribunes only, during this year, or conſuls choſen in their ſtead had the management of public affairs, it is admitted by all, that in the next, M. Geganius Macerinus, for the ſecond, and T. Quinctius Capitolinus, for a fifth time were conſuls. Under theſe conſuls, the office of cenſor was inſtituted *; which, tho' it ſeemed but of ſmall importance at firſt, roſe in time to ſo great a height, that the morals and diſcipline of the Romans fell under its cognizance: it was charged with the ſuperintendance of the ſenate and centuries of the knights: in it was veſted the right of promotion and degradation, the diſpoſal of all places, public and private, and an abſolute juriſdiction, with reſpect to the revenues of the republic.

The following circumſtance gave riſe to this office. For many years, the people had never been rated, and though the cenſus could be delayed no longer, by reaſon of ſo many impending wars, it was out of the power of the conſuls to overtake it. It was obſerved by the ſenate, that a matter which required ſo great attention, and at the ſame time, below the dignity of a conſul, required a peculiar officer, to whom the clerks ought to be accountable, who ſhould have the conſervation of the tax rolls, and ſhould preſcribe the mode of taking the cenſus.

However inſignificant this office might have appeared at firſt, the fathers graſped at it with joy, as it had a tendency to increaſe the number of offices, occupied by their order, with a view, as I imagine, and as it really happened, that the influence and power of thoſe who filled it, would ſoon procure authority and reſpect to the office itſelf. The tribunes viewed it rather in a neceſſary, than an honourable light, of which, at that time, it had no other appearance, and for that reaſon, made no objection, that they might not ſeem to make oppoſition, when their only motive, was the pleaſure of contradiction.

* A Cenſeo. This office, though at firſt it ſeemed contemptible, came at laſt to have ſo much power annexed to it, that the emperors took it upon themſelves.

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As the principal men of the ſtate, looked on this office with contempt, Poperius and Sempronious were named by the people, whoſe conſulſhip, the preceding year, was found doubtful, that the acceſſion of this new honour, might make them amends for the imperfection of the former; and from the nature of their office, they were called cenſors.

CHAP. IX.

Diſtractions at Ardea. Proceedings of Geganius.

DURING theſe operations at Rome, ambaſſadors came from Ardea, requeſting the Romans, on account of their moſt antient friendſhip, and of the treaty ſo lately renewed, to aſſiſt their ſtate, now brought to the brink of ruin by a civil war, which totally interrupted that peace, they had very wiſely kept with them. The rage of parties, it is ſaid, was the ſource of theſe civil diſſentions, which has been of more fatal conſequence to many ſtates, than foreign wars, famine, diſeaſes, and plagues of whatever kind, aſcribed to the anger of the Gods, as being the ſevereſt ſtrokes that can befal a nation.

Two young men had made their addreſſes to a young lady of Plebeian extraction, but extraordinary beauty. One of the young gentlemen was her equal, and ſupported in his pretenſions by her Tutors, who were of the ſame order. The other was a nobleman, regardleſs of every conſideration, but the charms of his miſtreſs. His addreſſes had the countenance of the nobility, who carried the ſpirit of party into the young lady's family. Her mother, ambitious of a title to her daughter, was clear for the nobleman. The guardians, even in this matter, could not conceal their attachment to their own order. When the diſpute became too high to be ſettled within doors, they went to law; and the judge having heard the pleadings on the part of the guardians and the mother, gave judgment in favour of the latter, whoſe right to diſpoſe of her child in marriage, was clearly aſcertained: but the ſtouteſt arm prevailed. For, the guardians expatiated publicly, on the injuſtice of the

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ſentence, among the people of their own order, in the forum; and, having made up a party, ſeized the young lady, and carried her off from her mother's houſe. In oppoſition to them, a party of the nobility, ſtill more formidable, joined the injured youth, and bloody-work inſued.

The people, who bore no reſemblance to the people of Rome, were worſted, and marched out of the city in arms, poſting themſelves upon an eminence, whence they laid waſte the lands of the nobility with fire and ſword: and having, by the hopes of plunder, drawn a great many mechanics to their party, they made preparations for beſieging the city, which hitherto had ſuſtained no damage from the inſurrection. War now appeared in all its dreadful ſhapes and colours: the whole community being, as it were, infected with the diſtraction of two young men, who were contending for a marriage, fatal to themſelves, and deſtructive to their country.

Neither thought their internal reſourſes ſufficient for the conflict; for which reaſon, the nobility applied to the Romans for relief, while the city was beſieged, and the commons called in the Volſci, to aſſiſt them in the reduction of the city. The Volſci appeared firſt before Ardea, under the command of Cluilius, an Æquian general, and ſhut up the city by a line of circumvallation drawn round its walls. When theſe accounts were brought to Rome, the conſul Geganius, loſt not a moment in marching with his army, and encamped within three miles of the enemy; where, as the day was far ſpent, he ordered the troops to refreſh themſelves. At the fourth watch, he proceeded and carried on his works with ſuch expedition, that at ſun-riſing, the Volſci found themſelves blocked up by a fortification, ſuperior in ſtrength to that wherewith they had inveſted the city; whilſt, at another quarter, the conſul had carried his works to the walls of Ardea, that his army might have a free communication with the town.

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CHAP. X.

The Volſci beat. Peace reſtored to Ardea. The Conſul triumphs.

THE general of the Volſci, who till then, had truſted for victualling his army, to the corn got from day to day, in ravaging the lands of the nobility, having prepared no magazines for that purpoſe; when he ſaw himſelf, all of a ſudden blocked up, and thereby deprived of every means of ſubſiſtence, invited the conſul to an interview, and told him, That if he had come with an intention to raiſe the ſiege, that he was willing inſtantly to withdraw the Volſci. The conſul, in anſwer, gave him to underſtand, that it was incumbent on the conquered to receive terms, but not to preſcribe them: and, ſince they had come to beſiege the allies of Rome, at their own pleaſure, they muſt only depart at his pleaſure. Wherefore, he orders them to lay down their arms, to give up their general, acknowledge themſelves conquered, and ſubmit to his orders. If they did not, they might expect no quarter, whether they raiſed or carried on the ſiege; as he would much rather return to Rome crowned with victory, than with the terms of a treacherous capitulation.

The Volſci, now cut off from all hopes, except what little they placed in their arms, reſolved to give it a trial: but, beſides other diſadvantages, having engaged in a place improper for fighting, and ſtill more ſo for flying, and being ſlaughtered at all quarters, they put up their ſwords and fell on their knees; when after they had delivered up their general, and laid down their arms, they were obliged to paſs under the yoke, and diſmiſſed with clothes only ſufficient to conceal their nakedneſs, covered, however, with ſhame and diſgrace. When they had halted at ſome ſmall diſtance from Tuſculum, the people there, who had long been their declared enemies, roſe up on them, fell upon them unarmed, and ſcarce left one to carry home the news of their diſaſter.

The Roman conſul re-eſtabliſhed peace and tranquillity at Ardea, having beheaded the principal authors of the

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sedition, and confiscated their estates for the benefit of the public treasury. The Ardeates, by so important a service, thought themselves sufficiently indemnified for the unjust award of the Roman people. But the sentiments of the senate were more generous, they thought there still remained something more to be done, to efface the remembrance of the shameful avidity which had so much dishonoured the Roman people. The consul entered Rome in triumph. Cluilius, the general of the Volsci, being led in chains before his chariot, together with the spoils of the enemy, whom he had disarmed, and obliged to pass under the yoke.

The consul Quinctius, equalled by the virtues of peace, the glory his colleague had acquired in arms, which was no easy matter. For, he applied himself in such a manner to preserve the peace and union of the city, and acted with such perfect impartiality between great and small, that by a just mixture of severity and mildness, his administration by the senate, was thought rather strict, and by the people sufficiently gentle. He kept the tribunes in awe, not by violent disputes, but by a kind of ascendancy, his known merit gave him over them. In five consulships, through which he had passed with the same character for probity, or rather the consular dignity of his whole life, rendered his person more venerable, if possible, than the office he bore; for this reason, not a syllable was hinted about military tribunes, during the whole course of this consulship.

CHAP. XI.

Reparation made the Ardeates, for the selfish award of the Roman People.

THE consuls elected for the ensuing year, were M. Fabius Vibulanus and Posthumius Æbutius Cornicen. These magistrates, when they reflected upon the glorious administration of the preceding year, both at home and abroad; (for the Romans had shown such attention and allertness in relieving the Ardeates, when their affairs were in a most dangerous situation, that among their neighbours, allies, and enemies, they were

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conſidered in a very reſpectable light,) concluded, that they ought to exert themſelves, that the remains of the infamous ſentence, formerly paſſed in relation to the Ardeates, might be buried in oblivion; and for that purpoſe, prevailed on the ſenate to paſs a decree, for ſending a colony to Ardea, to defend them againſt the Volſci, and repeople the city, much depopulated by the civil war. This was publicly given out and recorded, that the people and their tribunes, might not diſcover the latent deſign of reverſing their ſentence. For, it was concerted, that a far greater part of the colony ſhould conſiſt of Rutuli than of Romans, that no territory ſhould be divided, but that which had produced the infamous ſentence, and that no Roman ſhould have a ſingle acre of land, till all the Rutuli ſhould be provided for.

Thus was this territory reſtored to the Ardeates. Three gentlemen were choſen to lead the colony to Ardea, Agrippa Menenius, T. Cloelius Siculus, and Ebucius Elua, who, by an unpopular diſcharge of their truſt, in aſſigning the lands to the allies, which the Romans had adjudged to themſelves, fell into diſgrace with the people, nor were they high in favour with the Patricians, becauſe they had ſhown no reſpect to perſons. However, they avoided a proſecution, when the tribunes appointed them a day to anſwer for their conduct before the people, by deſerting the diet, and incorporating themſelves with the colony, who had been witneſſes of the integrity and impartiality of their conduct.

CHAP. XII.

A Famine. A Superintendent of Proviſions choſen.

BOTH this year and the following, when Caius Furius Pacilus and M. Papirius Craſſus were conſuls, paſſed in tranquillity both at home and abroad. The games, which the decemvirs had vowed, and the ſenate enacted during the receſſion of the people from the fathers, were celebrated this year. In vain did Petillius attempt to raiſe a ſedition; who be-

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ing made tribune of the people a second time, could not, for all the bluftering he made about the Agrarian law, get the conſuls once to move it in the ſenate: and when after a mighty buſtle, he prevailed ſo far as to get the opinion of the fathers, whether the Comitia ſhould be held for electing conſuls or military tribunes; conſuls were ordered to be elected. His threats, that he would obſtruct the levies, were matter of ridicule; for, when there was neither war, nor preparation for it, what occaſion was there for levies?

This ſtate of tranquillity was followed by a year chequered with a combination of calamities, occaſioned by famine and ſedition, during the conſulſhip of Proculus Geganius Macerinus, and L. Menenius Lanatus, when the people, by means of bribery, had almoſt been ſaddled with regal power. Had one foreign war been thrown into the ſcale, the ſtate muſt inevitably have ſunk to perdition. The firſt of theſe calamities was a famine, either owing to a bad ſeaſon, or the neglect of agriculture, for dancing attendance to aſſemblies, and the pleaſures of the city. For both theſe reaſons are given. The ſenators reproached the people with idleneſs, and the tribunes blamed the conſuls, ſometimes for want of honeſty, and ſometimes for inattention.

At laſt, with the ſenates concurrence, the people made choice of L. Minucius as præfect, or ſuperintendent of proviſions, who was more happy, while in office, in ſecuring the liberty of the ſtate, than in the execution of his office; although at laſt, he had juſtly the honour of lowering the price of proviſions, and the thanks of his country on that account: For, having diſperſed agents, by ſea and land, to no purpoſe, through the neighbouring ſtates, excepting a ſmall matter from Etruria, when no corn could be got, he turned his attention to a frugal management of what little was to be found at home, by obliging every one to produce his corn, to ſell all above one months proviſion, by reducing the daily allowance to ſlaves, and by accuſing the corn merchants, and expoſing them to the reſentment of the people, ſo that by the ſtrictneſs of his ſcrutiny, he rather expoſed their penury, than relieved it; in conſequence of which, many of the people, in a fit of deſpair,

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chose rather to throw themselves blindfolded into the Tiber, than suffer any longer the miseries of so cruel a famine.

CHAP. XIII.

Designs of Mælius.—A Dictator created.

AT this time, one Sp. Mælius of the Equestrian order, who was very rich for these times, put a design in execution, which, however serviceable for the present, in its tendency and intention, was execrable. For, having bought up corn, at his own expence, in Etruria, by means of his agents and correspondents, (a circumstance, which rendered Menucius's endeavours to supply the markets, quite ineffectual), he began to distribute it among the necessitous with a liberal hand. Touched with so much generosity, the people attended him every where, and formed a retinue for him, far above the condition of a private gentleman, and gave him great grounds to hope, that by their favour and good will, he would one day be raised to the consulship. But as ambition is ever insatiable, and still grasping at something beyond its reach, he carried his views much farther, and quite out of his sphere. He considered, that he must force himself into the consulship, in spite of every opposition from the fathers, and that therefore it was better to fix on sovereign power for his object at once: as that alone was a prize worthy of the deep designs he must necessarily form, and the opposition he had to conquer.

It was just upon the eve of the Comitia for electing consuls, a circumstance, that gave him no small trouble, as his measures were not properly concerted, nor his designs ripe for execution. T. Quinctius Capitolinus, was chosen consul for the sixth time, a man of all others, the most inconvenient to any person who wanted to play a game of this kind. Agrippa Menenius, sirnamed Lanatus, was given him for his colleague. L. Minucius was continued in his office, either as being re-elected, or because his office did not expire, till the occasion of it was superseded. For, we have no other proof of the

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matter, but that his name ſtands regiſtered among the magiſtrates of this and the preceding year, in the linen records. The duty of the purveyors office, obliged him to do the ſame in public, which Mælius took upon himſelf to do in private, and brought the ſame ſort of people to frequent the houſes of both. By their means, the whole plot was diſcovered, and laid before the ſenate, by Minucius, who told them, that arms were carried into Mælius's houſe, where he alſo held aſſemblies; and there was not a doubt, but he was taking meaſures to make himſelf king. That the time for the execution of his deſign was not yet fixed, but every thing previous to it was concerted, and the tribunes being bought up to betray their country, the leading men among the commons, had the parts aſſigned them, they were reſpectively to act. That he came with this information later, perhaps, than the ſafety of the republic required, but he wiſhed to advance nothing, of the certainty whereof he was not perfectly aſſured.

Upon this relation, heavy reproaches were thrown by the principal ſenators, from every part of the houſe, on the the conſuls of the former year, becauſe they had ſuffered ſuch largeſſes to be made, and ſuch meeting to be held in a private houſe; nor did the preſent conſuls eſcape them, for waiting till ſo important a diſcovery ſhould be made by a purveyor general, whereas it was the duty of the conſuls not only to have been acquainted with an affair of ſuch moment, but alſo to have puniſhed the delinquent.

Titus Quinctius, in anſwer, told them, that they had no reaſon to blame the conſuls, whoſe authority being cramped, and in a manner annihilated by the laws of appeal, whatever their courage and reſolution might be to puniſh a crime of that nature according to its enormity, by no means furniſhed them with the power. In this caſe, that a man of reſolution was not ſufficient, his power muſt be unlimited, he muſt be above the laws. That for this reaſon he would name L. Quintius dictator, a man whoſe ſoul was as capacious as the power was extenſive. All approved of this motion; but Quintius wiſhed to be off aſking them what they meant by expoſing him, at ſuch an advanced age, to ſo ſevere a

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conflict. But when the senators, as it were with one voice, declared, that not only more wisdom, but actually more real courage resided under his venerable form, than could be found among them all put together, and loaded him with deserved praises, whilst the consul still persisted in his motion; he acquiesced at length, praying to the gods, that the public weal might suffer no loss or reproach, at so dangerous a conjuncture, through his infirmities. He was instantly declared dictator by the consul, and named C. Servilius Ahala, general of the horse.

CHAP. XIV. *Servilius cuts off Mælius.*

NEXT day, when he had posted guards in all proper places of the city, he went into the forum, where an appearance so unexpected and unusual soon attracted the attention of the populace. While Mælius's adherents, and himself too, saw plainly that the power of that supreme magistrate was wholly pointed against themselves, such as were ignorant of their designs to subvert the constitution, were asking one another, what insurrection, what unexpected war, had made it necessary to create a dictator, and to invest Quintius, at upwards of fourscore, with that supreme office?

Servilius, master of the horse, having been sent by the dictator to Mælius, tells him, that he must wait upon the dictator. Mælius, in great disorder, asked what he wanted? To make your defence, replied Servilius, in answer to an indictment laid against you, by Minucius, before the senate. Upon that, Mælius made for a croud of his adherents, and looking round him, began to make the best of his way. By order of the general of the horse, an officer arrested him, but he was rescued by the people about him; and whilst he fled, he implored the protection of the people, crying out that the senate had concerted a plan for his destruction, because of his generosity to the people, who, he begged, might stand by him, now that his life was at stake; nor suffer him to be murdered in their presence. Servilius Ahala came up with him, as he was pronouncing these words, and laid him dead at his feet. Then, all sprinkled with

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the blood of the ſlain, encircled with a band of Patrician youth, he preſented himſelf before the dictator, and tells him that he had cited Mælius to appear before him; but as he had deforced the officer, and was endeavouring to raiſe an inſurrection among the people, he had received from *him* the puniſhment due to his crime. *Bravely done*, returned the dictator; *C. Servilius, then Rome is yet a free ſtate.*

CHAP. XV.

The Dictator accounts to the people for the puniſhment of Mælius.

THE Dictator then called an aſſembly of the people, who were in great commotion, and quite uncertain as to the judgment they ought to paſs on what they had ſeen. There the dictator tells them, 'That 'Mælius had juſtly merited his fate, had he even been 'innocent of the high crime charged againſt him, for 'having diſobeyed the dictator's ſummons delivered to 'him by the maſter of horſe. That he had taken his 'place on the tribunal, on purpoſe to enquire into that 'affair, after which he ſhould have done Mælius the 'juſtice he deſerved. That as he had recourſe to force, 'to ſcreen himſelf from judgment, violent meaſures were 'uſed in correcting his obſtinacy. He had no title to 'be treated as a citizen, who, though born among a 'free people, in the midſt of its laws and regulations, 'in a city from whence kings had been expelled; who 'knew that in the very year of their expulſion, the 'kings nephews, ſons alſo of that conſul who was the 'deliverer of his country, becauſe they had conſpired 'to receive the kings into Rome, were condemned to 'ſuffer death by their own father: That in the ſame 'city, the conſul Collatinus Tarquinius, out of hatred 'only to his name, had been obliged to reſign his office 'as conſul, and baniſh himſelf from his country; where 'Spurius Caſſius, ſome years after, had ſuffered death 'for a deſign of eſtabliſhing tyranny; and that very re-'cently, the tyrranical haughtineſs with which the de-'cemvirs lorded it over the people, had been puniſhed

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'with confiscation of their estates, banishment, and 'death itself; and yet, notwithstanding such examples, 'had the impudence to lift his eyes to the sovereignty 'of Rome. And after all, who is this Mælius? For, 'though neither nobility of birth, nor dignity of office, 'nor even personal merit, ought to open a way to the 'tyranny, yet Claudius Cassius and the rest, at the time 'they aspired at so criminal an elevation, were sustain-'ed by their consulships, their decemvirates, the honours 'of their ancestors, as well as their own, and the splen-'dor of their families. But for Sp. Mælius, to whose 'wishes rather than his hopes, the office of tribune 'might have become an object; a victualler, who had 'amassed a fortune from the corn trade, to have carri-'ed his speculations so high, as to think of purchasing 'the liberty of Roman citizens for a morsel of bread; 'that a people, victorious over all their neighbours, 'would subject themselves to slavery, for the temptati-'on of a dinner: as if the Romans would have put up 'with a king, whom they would scarce have admitted 'to the rank of a senator; to be invested with the au-'thority, and adorned with the ensigns of Romulus their 'founder, who was descended of the gods, and at his 'death received into their number, was folly to an ex-'travagant pitch, full as much as a crime. It was not 'sufficient that he had expiated his guilt with his blood; 'the house and walls wherein such a mad attempt had 'been projected, ought to be demolished, and all his 'effects confiscated, as having been intended to be laid 'out in the purchase of regal power: and that therefore 'he ordered the quæstors to expose these goods at ven-'due, and lodge the proceeds in the treasury.'

CHAP. XVI.

Mælius's house demolished, and effects confiscated.

HIS house was instantly ordered to be demolished; and that the place on which it stood might be a monument of the disappointment of his criminal hopes, it was called Æsquimælium. L. Minucius had the ho-

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nour to be preſented with an ox with gilt horns, without the gate that leads to Oſtia; to which the people made no objection, becauſe he diſtributed Mælius's corn among them at an as the buſhel. Some authors affirm, that Minucius went over from the Patricians to the Plebeians, and that he was made the eleventh tribune, and by that means quieted the tumult occaſioned by the death of Mælius. But it is hardly probable, that the fathers would have ſuffered the number of tribunes to be augmented, or allowed ſuch a precedent to be ſet by one of their own order; nor that the people, once a conceſſion had been made them, would tamely have given it up again. But what proves the inſcription on Minucius's ſtatue to be entirely fictitious, is the law made a few years before, whereby it is provided that the tribunes could not chuſe a colleague by co-optation.

D. Cæcilius, Q. Junius, and Sextus Titinus were the only tribunes that oppoſed the law for conferring honours on Minucius, whom, or Servilius they were conſtantly accuſing to the people, and complaining of the unmerited fate of Mælius; and ſo carried, that military tribunes, in preference to conſuls, ſhould be elected for that year; being fully perſuaded, if ſix military tribunes, the number allowed by law, were elected, ſome of the Plebeians, by promiſing to revenge the death of Mælius, would be among the number. However multiplied and diverſified the diſtractions of the city that year, no more than three tribunes were elected, with conſular authority, and among them too, L. Quintius, the ſon of that Cincinnatus, in odium of whoſe dictatorſhip, the confuſion was projected. Marcus Æmilius, a man of ſingular merit, was firſt in the nomination, Quintius ſecond, and L. Julius third.

CHAP. XVII.

The Roman ambaſſadors murdered at Fidenæ.

DURING their adminiſtration, Fidenæ, a Roman colony, revolted to Lars Tolumnius, king of the Vejentes. This rebellion was attended with a crime of a more heinous nature: For, by order of Tolumnius,

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they put to death C. Fulcinius, Cloelius Tullus, Sp. Ancius, and L. Roſcius, who had been commiſſioned by the Romans to enquire into the reaſon of their conduct. Some authors, in extenuation of the king's guilt, alledge, that upon occaſion of a lucky throw of the dice, ſome equivocal expreſſion he generally made uſe of, was conſtrued by the Fidenates into an order to murder the ambaſſadors. But it is hardly poſſible, that the king would have been ſo very intent on his game, as not to be diverted by the arrival of his new allies, the Fidenates, to conſult him concerning a murder, contrary to the law of nations; or that afterwards, he ſhould not have expreſſed his deteſtation of ſo horrible a deed. It is more probable, that it was a digeſted plan, to ſecure the Fidenates effectually to his intereſt, by the guilt of ſo black a crime; which muſt make a breach betwixt the Romans and them, never to be made up.

The ſtatues of the ambaſſadors, who were murdered at Fidenæ, were erected in the Roſtra at the public expence. The proſpect of a bloody battle, won with the confederate troops of the Vejentes and Fidenates, who, beſides their living in the neighbourhood, had in effect commenced hoſtilities, in an inſtance of the moſt ſhocking barbarity, kept the people and their tribunes from raiſing a diſturbance, or clogging the wheels of government, ſo that M. Geganius for the third time, with L. Sergius Fidenas were choſen conſuls, without oppoſition. It is very probable that Sergius got the ſirname of Fidenas, from the war which he conducted afterwards. For he was the firſt who meaſured ſwords with the king of the Vejentes, on this ſide the Anio, and came off victorious: but it coſt him dear; for which reaſon, Rome was more afflicted for the loſs of many citizens, than elated with joy for the defeat of the enemy.

Upon this event, as was uſual in caſes of danger, the ſenate ordered Mamercus Æmilius to be created dictator. For maſter of the horſe he named L. Quintius Cincinnatus, a young nobleman, worthy of ſo great a father, who the year before had been one of his colleagues in the office of military tribune with conſular power. At the levy made by the conſuls, the old centurions, of great valour and experience, entered themſelves for the

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ſervice, and the places of thoſe who fell in the laſt action were totally filled up. The dictator ordered Quintius Capitolinus, and M. Fabius Vibulanus, to attend him in quality of lieutenants. The enemy finding they had now to do with a general inveſted with unlimited power, whoſe abilities were equal to the charge, left the Roman dominions, and retired beyond the Anio, poſſeſſing themſelves of the eminences which ly between the Anio and Fidenæ; nor did they venture down upon the plains, before they were joined by the legions of the Faliſci. The Etrurians then encamped before the walls of Fidenæ, when the Roman dictator poſted himſelf at a ſmall diſtance from them, upon the banks of the two rivers near their confluence, having drawn lines through the intermediate ſpace, as far as the ground was capable of fortification. The next day he drew out his army to battle, but the enemy were not unanimous in their opinions.

CHAP. XVIII. *Battle with Tolumnius.*

THE Faliſci, being at a diſtance from their own country, grown weary of the fatigues of war, and having ſufficient confidence in their ſtrength, were clear for fighting: but the Vejentes and Fidenates thought their only chance lay in protracting the war. Tolumnius, although he approved of the ſentiments of his own ſubjects, that the Faliſci might not be diſguſted with the ſervice ſo far from home, gave out that he would lead them to battle next day. The appearance of heſitation in the enemy, gave new ſpirits to the dictator and his Romans; and the next day, whilſt the ſoldiers threatened to ſtorm the city and their camp, if they did not give them battle, both armies were drawn out to a plain between the two camps.

Tolumnius being ſuperior in numbers, detatched a party behind the mountains, to attack the Roman camp, during the heat of the engagement. Of the confederate army this was the diſpoſition: The Vejentes were poſted on the right, the Faliſci on the left, and the Fidenates in the centre. On the right wing of the Romans the dictator was oppoſed to the Faliſci, Quintius Capitoli-

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nus to the Vejentes on the left, and the master of the horse advanced with his cavalry in the centre.

For a little, the armies remained without the least noise or motion, the Etrurians having no mind to come to blows, unless they were compelled; and the dictator looking back to the capitol, for the signal from the augurs, which they were to set up, as had been concerted, the moment they had obtained a favourable omen. Whenever it appeared, setting up a great shout, he sent the horse to begin the attack. They were followed by the foot, who fought with great fury. The Etrurians were obliged to give way every where, to the superior mettle of the Romans. Their horse kept their ground better; and the king himself, the life and soul of the whole, riding from place to place, whilst the Romans pursued him every where, kept the victory in suspence.

CHAP. XIX.

Gallantry of Cossus;—defeat of the Confederates.

THERE was at that time an officer of the Roman cavalry named A. Cornelius Cossus, very remarkable for the gracefulness of his person, extraordinary strength, and exalted courage, who constantly attentive to the honour of his family, which was very illustrious, both supported and augmented its glory. Observing that Tolumnius carried terror and confusion among the Roman troops, where-ever he moved, and distinguishing him by his royal robes, as he flew among the line of battle, cried out, 'Is that the man, who infringes human treaties, and tramples on the law of nations; if 'the gods will not permit any sanctity to remain among 'mortals, I shall soon see, whether I can sacrifice him 'as a victim, to the manes of our ambassadors.' Then springing forwards with great impetuosity against the king, as his peculiar adversary, with one blow of his lance, unhorsed him, dismounting himself, the same instant, supported by his spear. Whilst the king attempted to rise, he beat him down upon his back with the boss of his buckler, and having given him several wounds, thrust him through the body, and nailed him

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to the ground. He then ſtript him of his ſpoils, cut off his head, and fixed it on the point of his ſpear, evidencing by that bloody trophy, his victory to the enemy, and ſpreading terror among them every where.

Thus the enemy's cavalry, who alone had kept the victory in ſuſpence, were broke and put to flight. The dictator, in the meantime purſued the flying legions, and drove them back to the camp with prodigious ſlaughter. Many of the Fidenates, being acquainted with the country, eſcaped to the mountains. Coſſus croſſed the Tiber with his cavalry, and returned to Rome loaded with ſpoils from the territory of the Vejentes. During the battle, there was alſo a ſkirmiſh at the Roman camp, with the party, which, as was formerly obſerved, had been detatched thither by Tolumnius. Fabius Vibulanus, firſt defended the works by poſting his men round them, but afterwards made a ſally at the gate on the right of the Principia *, with the Triaria, and ſurprized the enemy wholly intent upon forcing the lines. Terror and confuſion, on the part of the enemy, was the conſequence of this manœuvre; but the ſlaughter was not conſiderable, as there were but few engaged, though the rout was as general, and no leſs confuſed, than in the field of battle.

CHAP. XX.

Coſſus preſents Opima Spolia to Jupiter Feretrius.

THE Roman army having thus been every where victorious, the dictator, by decree of the ſenate, and order of the people, entered Rome in triumph; but what principally attracted the public attention in the proceſſion, was Coſſus bearing the ſpoils of the king, killed with his own hand. The ſoldiers ſung rude verſes to his praiſe, comparing him to Romulus. He

* The Roman camp was a quadrangle, divided into two principal parts, between which was a ſpot of ground, about 100 feet long, called the *Principia*. The camp had four gates; in the front, the Prætorian; in the rear, the Decumena; in the right, the Principalis Dextra; and on the left, the Principalis Læva.

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hung up these spoils in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, near those of Romulus, at that time, the only spoils that bore the name of Opima, presenting them with a solemn dedication. All the while, he drew the eyes of the citizens from the dictator's chariot, and fixed them on himself, so that he engrossed the best part of that day's solemnity. The dictator, by order of the people, presented to Jupiter Capitolinus, a crown of gold, of a pound weight, at the public expence.

I have followed the universal opinion of authors who wrote before me, in making A. Cornelius Cossus, only a legionary tribune, at the time he brought the second Opima Spolia into the temple of Jupiter Feretrius. But besides, that those only, properly speaking, are Opima Spolia, which one general takes from another, and none can be considered as a general, but he who has the sole management of the war; the very inscription of these spoils, proves against both them and me, that he was consul when he took them. Therefore, when I heard that Augustus Cæsar, who either built or repaired all the Roman temples, had visited that of Jupiter Feretrius, which he rebuilt, after it had fallen to ruins by the ravages of time, and that he himself had read the inscription upon the linen breast-plate of Tolumnius, I thought it a pity to deprive Cossus of the testimony of his own spoils, and of Cæsar also, who rebuilt the temple. The reader may, however, judge for himself, where the mistake lies in that matter, because annals so antient, and the linen register of magistrates kept in the temple of Moneta, so often quoted by Licinius Macer, takes no notice of Cossus's consulship, still nine years after, when Titus Quinctius Pennus was his colleague. Add to this also, that so famous a battle, can never correspond to that year, because for almost three years before and after the consulate of A. Cornelius, there was no war, owing to a pestilential distemper and a famine; insomuch, that some annals, mourning, as it were, for the dead, mention nothing with respect to these years, but the names of the consuls. The third year after he was consul, he was made military tribune with consular power; and before it expired master of horse, in which

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capacity, he fought another memorable battle at the head of the cavalry.

Still we may judge of this matter as we pleaſe; but, in my opinion, we may conclude any diſpute about the matter ridiculous, ſince he who commanded in this action, when the ſpoils were freſh and depoſited in the temple, near Jupiter himſelf, to whom they were devoted, in the preſence of Romulus, witneſſes not to be impoſed on with a fictitious inſcription, calls himſelf, A. Cornelius Cossus, Consul.

CHAP. XXI.

An epidemical diſtemper rages among the Vejentes and Faliſci. The Fidenates attempt a deſcent on the Roman territory.

In the conſulſhip of M. Cornelius Maluginenſis and L. Paperius Craſſus, the Roman armies marched into the territories of the Vejentes and Faliſci, and brought off a large booty in priſoners and cattle; but the enemy kept out of the way, ſo that there was no opportunity of coming to blows. They did not, however, lay ſiege to any of their cities, becauſe an epidemical diſtemper raged among the people, and Spurius Mælius, a tribune of the commons, was endeavouring, though with little ſucceſs, to raiſe commotions at home. He thought the popularity of his name, would enable him to raiſe ſome duſt, and therefore, had impeached Minucius, and brought in a bill for confiſcating the eſtate of Servilius Ahala; contending, that the charge brought againſt Mælius, by Minucius, was a villainous trick,—a vile forgery; and, that Servilius had put to death a Roman citizen, unheard and uncondemned. Theſe proſecutions appeared full as ridiculous to the people, as the author of them. Their attention, however, was totally engroſſed by the violence of the diſtemper, which was ſtill increaſing, and frightful prodigies, ſuch as the news, that houſes in the country were frequently demoliſhed, by repeated ſhocks of an earthquake. Wherefore, they had recourſe to prayer, in which the people followed the duumvirs.

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The plague raged with ſtill greater fury, when C. Icilius, for the ſecond time, and L. Virginius were conſuls, and threatened ſuch deſolation in town and country, that ſo far from making excurſions for the ſake of plunder, a foreign war, was never ſo much as hinted either in the ſenate, or the forum. The Fidenates, however, who had at firſt kept themſelves in the mountains, towns, and fortified places, were tempted now to make a deſcent upon the Roman territory, with a view to plunder. Having afterwards formed a junction with the army of the Vejentes, for the Faliſci, notwithſtanding the diſtreſs of the Roman republic, and the ſolicitations of their allies, were determined to be no more concerned, the two confederate armies paſſed the Anio, and diſplayed their colours near the Colline-gate.

The conſternation was prodigious in town and country. The conſul Icilius, drew up his troops on the walls and rampart of the city, whilſt Virginius conſulted the ſenate in the temple of Romulus. There a dictator was reſolved on, and A. Servilius appointed to the commiſſion, who, by ſome, is ſir-named Priſcus, by others, Structus. Virginius only waited to adviſe his colleague, who, having no objection, he named the dictator that night, who choſe Poſthumus Æbutius Elva, maſter of the horſe.

CHAP. XXII.

The Volſci and Fidinates beat, and Fidenæ taken.

ORDERS were iſſued by the dictator, that all ſhould appear early next morning, without the Colline-gate; nor did any, who were able to carry arms, fail in their obedience. The ſtandards were brought him from the treaſury, without a moment's delay. When the enemy obſerved theſe motions, they retired to the eminences, whether the dictator followed them with an army ſufficiently enraged: and coming to blows with them near Nomenton, gave the legions of Etruria, a ſevere drubbing, and purſued them to the city Fidenæ, where he blocked them up. But, as the city ſtood high and ſtrongly fortified, it could not be taken by

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ſcalade, nor could a blockade have been of any ſervice, as they had not only proviſions ſufficient for the preſent, but large magazines previouſly laid in. Therefore, finding it would be impracticable to carry the city by ſtorm or blockade, the dictator reſolved to open a paſſage under ground to the citadel, from places near enough to be ſufficiently examined, at the back of the town, where it was guarded with leaſt care, as being moſt ſtrongly fortified by nature.

He divided his army into four parts, and carried on his attacks upon the walls, in places very diſtant from each other. He conſtantly relieved thoſe who were fatigued, by freſh ſupplies of men, and ſo continued to ſkirmiſh with the townſmen night and day. By theſe diverſions, he kept the enemy from perceiving the works he was carrying on, till he had digged quite through the hill, and opened a paſſage all the way to the caſtle, and till the Etrurians having been diverted with the ſhow of danger, from all attention to the reality, and a confirmation that their city was taken, in the enemy's ſhouts over their heads. This year, C. Furius Pacilus, and M. Geganius Macerinus, the cenſors, fitted up a building in the Campus Martius, where the cenſus was made for the firſt time.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Conquered are again in motion.

I FIND in Licinius Macer, that the ſame conſuls, Icilius, a third time, and Virginius, a ſecond, were re-elected for the following year. Valerius Antias and Q. Tubero, mention M. Manlius and Q. Sulpicius, as conſuls for that year. Yet, notwithſtanding ſo great a difference, both pretend the authority of the linen-books; and neither refuſes, that according to antient hiſtorians, the public adminiſtration, for that year, was veſted in military tribunes. Licinius follows theſe linen records as an oracle of truth, but Tubero is not ſo confident; ſo that, among other things which antiquity has involved in darkneſs, this too muſt be left undetermined.

The taking of Fidenæ, ſpread a general alarm

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throughout all Etruria. For, the Vejentes were not only in the moſt dreadful terror for meeting with the ſame fate. but the Faliſci too, from the part they had acted in the firſt war, although they had no hand in the ſecond. Wherefore, theſe two ſtates, having diſpatched ambaſſadors to all the twelve nations, prevailed with them to appoint a general aſſembly of all Etruria, at the temple of Voltumna: upon which, the ſenate, as if a cloud had been ready to burſt over their heads, ordered Mamercus Æmilius, once more to be created dictator. He named for maſter of the horſe, A. Poſthumius Tubertus; and preparations were made for the war, with a vigour proportioned to the force of all Etruria, compared to that of only two of its conſtituent parts.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Dictator paſſes a popular Law, which is highly reſented by the Cenſors.

BUT this affair created leſs diſturbance than was generally expected: wherefore, when advices were brought by the merchants, that the Etrurians had refuſed to be concerned with the Vejentes, telling them, ſince they had engaged in a war, without conſulting them, they muſt carry it on without their aſſiſtance, and not involve thoſe in their misfortunes, whom they excluded from their hopes, in more promiſing days. The dictator then, thus diſappointed in his expectation of military glory, that he might not ſeem to have been created in vain, wiſhed to leave a monument of his dictatorſhip, in time of peace; and, with that view, ſet about reducing the privileges of the cenſors: either becauſe he thought their power too extenſive, or perhaps becauſe he was leſs diſſatisfied with the greatneſs of their honours, than the time of their duration. Therefore, having called an aſſembly, he repreſented, 'That as the 'immortal gods had taken upon themſelves, the charge 'of the republic's affairs abroad, under whoſe protection 'they might reſt ſecure; it was his buſineſs to attend to

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'the liberty of the people, which could only be done 'within the walls of the city. That for this purpose, 'he had to observe, that it was a matter of the last im- 'portance, to take care, that the great offices of the 'state, should not continue long in the same hands, 'and that bounds be set to the duration of employments, 'to the power annexed to which, all limitation is im- 'possible. That all other offices were annual, the 'censorship alone *quinquennial*. That it was intoler- 'able, to live for so many years exposed to the power 'of the same persons. That, therefore, he was to pro- 'pose a law, restricting the censorship, to the continu- 'ance of eighteen months.'

Next day the law was accepted by the unanimous consent of the people. 'To convince you, *Romans*, 'that I am in earnest, when I express so great a dislike 'to magistracies of long continuance, I this instant re- 'sign my own.' Having thus divested himself of his own office, and so put an end to one, and limited another, he was conducted back to his house by the multitude, with loud acclamations of joy. Mamercus's conduct, in abridging the duration of a Roman office, was highly resented by the censors, who degraded him from his tribe, and saddled him with a tribute eight times his usual proportion. It is said of Æmilius, that he bore all this with a remarkable degree of fortitude, disregarding the indignity, out of respect to the cause: and tho' the senators had no great relish for the new law, they were far from being pleased with this instance of despotism in the censors, from a very natural reflection, that though they might themselves be possessed of the same power, they might be oftener, and much longer subject to it. However, it is certain, that such was the indignation of the people, that but for the interposition of Mamercus himself, the censors would have been torn to pieces.

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CHAP. XXV.

Complaints of the Tribunes, that they were neglected by the People. A Peſtilence rages.

THE tribunes of the people, by their conſtant harrangues, in oppoſition to the election of conſuls, at laſt carried, that military tribunes, with conſular power, ſhould be choſen for the enſuing year, after matters were almoſt brought to an inter-regnum. Nevertheleſs, they obtained none of the reward they expected, for not a ſingle Plebeian was elected. They were all Patricians, namely, M. Fabius Vibulanus, M. Foſſius, L. Sergius Fidenas. A peſtilence, which raged this year, gave them a reſpite from other troubles. A temple was vowed to Apollo, for the health of the people. The duumvirs tried many expedients, preſcribed in their books, for appeaſing the anger of the gods, and reſcuing the people from the plague. But, after all, the diſtemper made ſuch havock, in town and country, both among the inhabitants and their cattle, that fearing the loſſes, the farmers had ſuſtained, would bring on a famine, they ſent to Etruria, Pomptinum, Cumæ, and laſt of all to Sicily for corn.

No motion was made for a conſular Comitia at this time; ſo that L. Pinarius Mamercinus, L. Furius Medulinus, and Sp. Poſthumius Albus, were choſen military tribunes, with conſular power; all of them Patricians. This year the plague began to ſubſide, nor was there any danger of famine, as meaſures had been taken to prevent it. The Volſci and Æqui, however, in their councils of ſtate, and the Etrurians in a general diet, held at the temple of Voltumna, were talking in a ſtile, which ſhewed their views were not pacific. The ſcheme, however, was put off for a year, and it was provided by a decree, that there ſhould be no general diet ſooner, notwithſtanding all that could be urged by the Vejentes, that Veii would ſoon ſhare the fate of Fidenæ, which was now in ruins.

In the mean time, at Rome, the wealthy Plebeians, who had long, but to little purpoſe, waited at the pool

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of promotion, now that they had a reſpite from foreign wars, began to hold meetings at the tribunes houſes. There they had private conſultations, complaining; 'That the people were ill affected to their intereſts, inſomuch, that the military tribunes, with conſular power, had been elected for a great many years, yet never one Plebeian had been admitted to that honour: their anceſtors ſurely had ſeen a great way before them, who had wiſely provided, that no Patrician ſhould enjoy an office among the Plebeians; or, long before this time, they would have been tribunes of the people! ſo deſpicable now were the commons to their own order, that they were held in no greater contempt by the ſenators, than the people.' Others excuſed the people, and laid all the blame upon the Patricians: alledging, 'That it was owing to their intrigues and cunning addreſs, that the gate to promotion was ſhut againſt the commons. For, were theſe falſe lights extinguiſhed, and the people neither flattered, nor bullied by the Patricians, they would not in their ſuffrages, forget their friends among the commons, and their countenance once obtained, they would not fail to promote them.' Wherefore, it was reſolved, that a law ſhould be propoſed, in order to put an effectual ſtop to intriguing, that for the future, no perſon appearing as a candidate for an office, ſhould affect to be diſtinguiſhed by the whiteneſs of his robes. At this period, a diſpute ſo trifling, would be little regarded; but, however much it may appear like a farce now, between the ſenators and people then, it was a very ſerious affair. The tribunes prevailed, and the law paſſed. As the preſent animoſity of the people, gave reaſon to ſuſpect, that they would be biaſſed in favour of their own party; wherefore, to put it out of their power to prefer them, the ſenate enacted, that the comitia for electing conſuls, ſhould be held this year.

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CHAP. XXVI.

The Tribunes compel the Conſuls to name a Dictator.

ADVICES from the Hernici and the Latins, that the Volſci and Æqui were in motion, furniſhed an apology for this reſolution. T. Quinctius Cincinnatus, the ſon of Lucius, ſir-named alſo Pennus, and C. Julius Mento, were made conſuls. This dreadful war was no longer delayed: for, by means of a ſacred law among them, the moſt effectual means of raiſing an army, having made up their quotas, each nation led a formidable party to the Algidus, the place agreed on for their general rendezvous. There the Æqui and Volſci fortified two ſeparate incampments, their generals diſcovering a much greater degree of attention in diſciplining the troops and ſecuring the lines, than ever they had done on any former occaſion.

Theſe accounts increaſed the conſternation at Rome, ſo much the more. The ſenate were determined to name a dictator; becauſe, though they had to do with a people, who had often ſhown them their backs, they ſeemed at this time reſolved on an extraordinary effort; and beſides, the ſtrength of the Romans was impaired by the loſs of ſome of their youth, that had been cut off by the raging diſtemper. But, nothing gave them ſo much concern, as the perverſeneſs of the conſuls, their miſunderſtanding between themſelves, and croſſing each other in every meaſure. Some authors affirm, that they were defeated at the Algidus, which was the reaſon that a dictator was named. One thing, however, is certain, that however they differed in other things, they joined in oppoſing the ſenate's motion for naming a dictator, till expreſſes upon expreſſes announced the progreſs of the enemy's arms, and the conſuls ſtill perſiſting in their obſtinacy. Q. Servilius Priſcus, who had enjoyed the higheſt honours of the ſtate with great credit, turning to the tribunes of the people, told them, 'Since matters 'are now come to this extremity, tribunes, the ſenate 'calls upon you, conſidering the danger to which the

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'state is exposed, to exert your authority, and compel 'the consuls to name a dictator.' This was no sooner said, than the tribunes, who thought they had now a fair opportunity of extending their power, withdrew a little, and returned with the following declaration in name of their college: 'It is the pleasure of the tri-'bunes, that the consuls should obey the senate; and if 'they persisted one moment longer, in their opposition 'to the united desire of that very august order, they 'would command them instantly to be laid in jail.'

The consuls chose rather to submit to the tribunes, than to the senate; upbraiding the fathers, however, that it was by them, the consular authority was betrayed, and subjected to the power of the tribunes. For, if a tribune, by his authority, could oblige the consuls to do as he pleased, and if he refused, could also order him to jail, what worse had even a private person to fear? It fell by lot, to Titus Quinctius, to name the dictator, for the matter could not otherwise be settled between the consuls. He named his father-in-law, A. Posthumius Tubertus, a man exceedingly harsh and imperious, to the dictatorship, and he, L. Julius, for his general of the horse. A vacation was immediately proclaimed, and nothing minded in all the city, but preparations for war. The trial of those who pleaded an exemption from the service, was put off till the end of the war; so that they whose title was doubtful, suffered themselves to be inrolled. The Hernici and Latins, were ordered to furnish their quotas, and both paid respect to the dictator's orders with all possible diligence.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Dictator marches against the Æqui and Volsci.

ALL these things were performed with remarkable dispatch, and the consul, C. Julius, being left for the defence of the city; and L. Julius, general of the horse, to provide for the sudden exigencies of the war, that their motions might not be retarded with any thing they might want in the camp, the dictator vowed, in a form prescribed by A. Cornelius, the pontifex Maxi-

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mus, the great games, on account of the preſent confuſion. Then marching out of the city, and dividing his command with the conſul Quinctius, he came up with the enemy. As they had obſerved, that the enemy had two camps, at no great diſtance from each other, they likewiſe encamped about a mile from them, the dictator at a place near Tuſculum, and the conſul near Lanuvium. Thus they had four armies, and as many fortified camps, with a plain in the middle, not only large enough to admit of ſkirmiſhes between ſmall parties, but to contain the armies on both ſides, drawn up in battalia. From the moment the camps lay in this oppoſite direction, a ſingle day did not paſs without ſmall encounters; the dictator giving the ſoldiers full liberty to try their ſtrength with the enemy, that the event of theſe ſkirmiſhes, might gradually lead them to hopes of victory, in a general battle.

Wherefore, the enemy deſpairing of ſucceſs, by fighting it fairly in the open plain, attacked the conſul's camp in the night, ſtaking their all upon a very uncertain event. The ſudden ſhout they raiſed, not only alarmed the conſul's guards, and afterwards his whole army, but roufed the dictator himſelf. In caſes of immediate danger, the conſul wanted not courage, nor conduct. A party was ordered to reinforce the guards at the gates, and others to poſt themſelves round the rampart. In the dictator's camp, as there was leſs hurry and confuſion, ſo he could the better provide for the preſent exigence. Wherefore, having immediately diſpatched a reinforcement to the conſul's camp, under the command of his lieutenant general, Sp. Poſthumius Albus, he marched himſelf with a part of his army, fetching a ſmall compaſs, to a place quite out of ſight of the action; from whence he might fall on the enemy's rear, before they could be aware of his deſign. He left the care of the camp to Q. Sulpicius, one of his lieutenants, and put M. Fabius, another lieutenant, at the head of a party of horſe, with orders not to ſtir till day light, as it was difficult to manage horſe in ſuch a hurly burly by night.

All that could be expected from the valour and conduct of the moſt able general, was performed by the

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dictator. But, in one instance, he has a peculiar merit, and appears in a glorious point of view. For, having been informed for certain, that the enemy, in great numbers, had left their own camp, with a view to attack the consuls, from a motion of his own, he dispatched M. Geganius, with a select body of troops, to invest the camp they had left. Geganius fell upon them, whilst they were entirely taken up about the event of their assault, and so totally regardless as to themselves, that they had neither posted guards nor sentries, and had almost made himself master of their camp, before they were fully convinced that it was attacked. He then gave the signal by raising smoke, as had been concerted; and when it was observed by the dictator, he cried out, that the enemy's camp was taken, and ordered it to be published every where.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Battle with the Æqui and Volsci.

BY this time, day-light began to appear, when all their operations were laid open. At the same time that Fabius had charged with his horse, the consul had made a sally from the camp upon the enemy, by this time quite dejected. The dictator, from another quarter, falling upon their second line and corps-de-reserve, had posted his victorious army quite round the enemy, who were wheeling about to examine whence the confused shouts and sudden commotions proceeded. Wherefore, being now surrounded on all sides, and shut up in the centre, they would have paid dear for their rebellion, if Vectius Messius, one of the Volsci, a man more distinguished for his merit, than his birth, had not read his country-men a severe lecture, as they were already staring about them in crouds; calling aloud to them, 'Are you determined to open your breasts, exposed to the enemy's darts, and to fall here unrevenged? Was it for this purpose that you brought arms with you?—Was this all you had in view, when you were the first to take up arms, mighty bold, when there is no danger, but in battle mere pultroons?

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'What do you look for ſtanding here? Do you imagine, that ſome divinity is to take you under his protection, and extricate you from your preſent difficulty? No; you muſt open a paſſage with your ſwords. Such of you as have any deſire to ſee your houſes, fathers, wives, and children again, come this way along with me, whither you ſhall ſee me lead the way. You are neither obſtructed by walls nor entrenchments; but by men armed like yourſelves. If you are equal in courage, you are certainly ſuperior in point of neceſſity, the laſt and moſt effectual weapon.'

He had ſcarce finiſhed this ſpeech, when he was followed by his own people with repeated ſhouts, as he was putting in practice what he had promiſed. They attacked with great fury the cohorts which oppoſed them under Poſthumius Albus, and made them give way victorious as they had been, till the dictator came up juſt as they were beginning to retire. The whole heat of the battle turned that way. The fate of the enemy depended on Meſſius alone. The liſt of the wounded and killed was high on both ſides. On the ſide of the Romans, the general officers did not eſcape without wounds. Though the dictator was wounded in the ſhoulder, though Fabius's thigh was almoſt pinned to his horſe, and though the conſul loſt an arm, none of them thought of quitting the field at ſo critical a juncture.

CHAP. XXIX.

The Dictator returns in triumph.

THE fury of Meſſius's attack, with a troop of young intrepid ſoldiers opened them a paſſage over the bodies of their ſlain, to the camp of their Volſci, which was not yet taken. Our whole army followed him thither. The conſul purſued the ſcattered enemy up to their lines, which he attempted to force, and make himſelf maſter of their camp. The dictator, on another ſide, led on his troops to the attack: The work here, was full as warm as in the battle. The conſul, it is ſaid, threw an enſign into the entrenchments, with a view to

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animate the ſoldiers to advance with all the ardour poſſible; and the firſt impreſſion they made was owing to their noble exertions in recovering their colours. The dictator too, having diſmounted the Paliſadoes, had already entered the enemy's camp ſword in hand; upon which the enemy began to lay down their arms, and ſurrender at diſcretion. This camp being alſo taken, all the enemy, the ſenators excepted, were ſold for ſlaves. Part of the plunder was reſtored to the Latins and Hernici, who could point out what belonged to themſelves. The remainder, the dictator ſold by auction; and having left the conſul to command the troops that remained in the camp, he returned to Rome in triumph, and immediately laid down his office.

Thoſe authors, who aver that A. Poſthumius cauſed the head of his ſon to be ſtruck off, becauſe he had quitted his poſt without orders, upon ſeeing an opportunity of ſtriking a blow, in which he ſucceeded, greatly abridge the glory of this dictatorſhip. For my own part, I cannot believe it; and yet, amidſt ſo many opinions, one may be led to believe it. What convinces me that there muſt be a miſtake, is, that ſuch inſtances of ſeverity are called the orders of Manlius, and not of Poſthumius; and there is no doubt but he who firſt ſet ſuch a rigid precedent, would have entailed upon himſelf a title characteriſtical of his ſeverity. Manlius was alſo ſirnamed the imperious, but Poſthumius was never diſtinguiſhed by any mark of baſeneſs.

C. Julius the conſul, whilſt his colleague was abſent, dedicated the temple of Apollo, without caſting lots. Quintius did not take it well; and for that reaſon, after he had diſbanded his army, and returned to the city, he laid a complaint before the ſenate, but without effect.—It is obſerved, though at that time, the Romans ſeemed to have little concern in the matter, that in this year, ſo remarkable for great events, for the firſt time, the Carthaginians, who were one day to be ſuch terrible enemies to the Roman people, taking advantage of the diviſions which prevailed in Sicily, ſent an army thither to the aſſiſtance of one of the contending parties,

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CHAP. XXX.

The Vejentes in motion. A terrible drought followed by a plague. A. R. 323.

THE Tribunes of the commons made a buſtle in the city to get military tribunes, with conſular power, elected for the enſuing year, but they failed in the attempt. Lucius Papirius Craſſus, and L. Julius were made conſuls. The Æqui ſent ambaſſadors, requeſting the ſenate to treat with them; and when inſtead of a treaty, a ſubmiſſion at diſcretion was mentioned, the envoys obtained a truce for eight years. The Volſci, after the check they had received at the Algidus, were divided into parties; and from diſputes and reproaches between thoſe who had declared for war, and thoſe who had adviſed peace, came at laſt to an open rupture: ſo that the Romans were now at peace with all their neighbours.

The conſuls having diſcovered by means of one of the tribunes, that the college were preparing a law for fixing the extent of fines, which would be highly agreeable to the people, they took the ſtart of them by moving it themſelves. Theſe conſuls were ſucceeded by L. Sergius Fidenas, for the ſecond time, and Hoſtus Lucretius Tricipitinus. During their adminiſtration, nothing memorable occurred. Aulus Cornelius Coſſus, and Titus Quintius Pennus, a ſecond time were their ſucceſſors in office. *A. R.* 324.

The Vejentes now renewed their incurſions upon the Roman territories. Fame will have it, that ſome of the youth of Fidenæ were concerned in theſe depredations. The cognizance of this affair was aſſigned to L. Sergius, Q. Servilius, and Mamercus Æmilius. Some of the delinquents were baniſhed to Oſtia, becauſe they could not account for their abſence from Fidenæ, the days on which theſe treſpaſſes happened. An additional number of planters was ſent to the colony, who had the lands of thoſe who fell in battle aſſigned them.

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This year was remarkable for an exceſſive drought. For the rains not only failed, but the earth too drained of its native moiſture, was ſcarcely ſufficient to ſupply the fixed rivers. In other places near the ſprings and rivulets which were quite dried up, the want of water made terrible havock among the cattle, which periſhed for thirſt. Others of them were cut off by the murrain. From them the infection ſpread among the people, raging at firſt among the peaſants and ſlaves. But it was not long before the city ſwarmed with ſick. Nor were their bodies alone infected with the diſtemper, but their minds were alſo ſeized with various ſuperſtitions, moſt of them too of foreign growth. Some impoſtors turned the credulity of the people to their account, by pretending to propheſy, and introducing into families new rites in offering ſacrifices; till the principal men of the ſtate came to be acquainted with the public nuiſance, by ſeeing in all the ſtreets and chapels, foreign and uncommon expiations for recovering the favour of the gods. The Ædiles were then enjoined to take care, that none but the Roman gods ſhould be worſhipped, nor theſe in any other manner, than that which cuſtom had eſtabliſhed.

The chaſtiſement of the Vejentes was reſerved for C. Servilius Ahala, and L. Papirius Mugilanus, the conſuls for the following year: and even then they had a ſcruple in declaring war, or marching an army immediately againſt them, before the Feciales ſhould be ſent to demand reſtitution; a ſtep which they thought ſhould be previous to all others. It was but lately that they had meaſured their ſwords with the Vejentes, at Nomentum and Fidenæ, where a truce, but not a peace enſued. The truce was indeed expired now, but before that time they had been in arms. The Feciales were however diſpatched: but though they were ſworn as uſual, and demanded reſtitution in form, no regard was paid to what they ſaid. After all, a conteſt aroſe, whether war ſhould be denounced by order of the people, or whether a decree of the ſenate might be ſufficient. The tribunes, by threatening that they would ſtop the levies, carried that the conſuls ſhould lay before the people, what reſpected the war. All the centuries voted for the war. The people had the better in this diſ-

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pute, having also obtained, that no consuls should be elected for the succeeding year.

CHAP. XXXI.

Miscarriage of the Military Tribunes. A Dictator named.

FOUR military tribunes were chosen with consular authority, Titus Quintius Pennus, who had been consul, C. Furius, M. Posthumius, A. Cornelius Cossus. Of these Cossus staid at Rome to preside in the city; the other three, having completed the levies, marched directly to Veii, where they gave a signal proof of the pernicious effects in a war of a plurality of commanders in chief: for, as they differed in opinion, and each of them insisted to have his own plan adopted, they gave the enemy an opportunity of taking them at a disadvantage. For while the army had no distinct orders, one commanding the signal to be given for battle, another, a retreat to be sounded, the Vejentes seized that opportunity of attacking them. They were put in disorder, and fled back to their camp, which was hard by, so that they were more disgraced than hurt.

The city unaccustomed to defeats was greatly afflicted; they hated tribunes, and cried out for a dictator: there the whole hopes of the city seemed to center. But here again, religion threw an obstacle in the way, that a dictator could not be named but by a consul. With respect to this point the augurs were consulted, who satisfied their scruples. A. Cornelius named Mamercus Æmilius dictator, who in return named him general of the horse. Consequently whenever the circumstances of the state required exalted merit, the censors degradation had no influence to prevent the people from vesting the administration in a family which had been unjustly disgraced.

The Vejentes, elated with their success, sent ambassadors to all the nations of Etruria, boasting that they had defeated three Roman generals in one pitched battle; they could not however prevail with any of these states openly to espouse their cause, but the hopes of plunder drew volunteers from all quarters. The Fidenates

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were the only people who were pleased to arm. And, as if it had been unlawful to commence a war, without some extraordinary guilt on their side, they sullied their arms with the blood of the new colony, as they had, on another occasion, done with that of the ambassadors, and then joined the Vejentes. The question now between the chiefs of these two nations came to be, whether they should make Veii, or Fidenæ, the seat of the war. Fidenæ was agreed on as the most proper. Wherefore, crossing the Tiber, the Vejentes carried the war to Fidenæ. Rome was in the utmost terror; wherefore, recalling their army from Veii, whose spirits were much depressed, on account of their late miscarriage, a camp was formed before the gate Collina. Guards were posted on the walls, the administration of justice was suspended, the shops were shut, and all things resembled a camp, more than a city.

CHAP. XXXII.

The Dictator addresses the People. Action with the Confederates.

WHILST the city was in this consternation, the dictator sent about public criers through all the streets, to summon an assembly of the people, when he began with reproaching them, 'For suffering themselves 'to be so much alarmed, at the most trivial accidents. 'That an inconsiderable loss, not occasioned by the 'enemy's valour, nor the cowardice of the Roman army, 'but by a disagreement among the commanders, should 'make them afraid of the Vejentes, an enemy who had 'fled before them, six several times; and of the Fidenates, whose capital they had taken oftener, if possible, 'than they had even laid siege to it. The Romans and 'the enemy, were the same sort of men, they had been 'for so many ages. With regard to courage, strength 'of body, and arms, the very same. That he too was 'the same dictator, Mamercus Æmilius, who formerly 'routed the confederate armies of the Fidenates and 'Vejentes, at Nomentum, even when supported by the 'Falisci. That A. Cornelius, his general of the horse,

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'would exert the same bravery in battle now, as in the 'former war, when only a legionary tribune, that he 'slew, Lars Tolumnius, king of the Vejentes, in sight of 'both armies, and carried the opima spolia, to the 'temple of Jupiter Feretrius. That, therefore, they 'ought to remember, that on their side, they had tri-'umphs, spoils, and victory: that on the enemy's, 'there was only the guilt of murdering ambassadors, 'contrary to the law of nations; the massacre of the 'colony of Fidenæ, in time of profound peace; the vio-'lation of the truce, and revolts, seven times repeated, 'notwithstanding their bad success. They should, 'therefore, fly to their arms; and he was very certain, 'so soon as the two armies were engaged, these im-'pious enemies would have but a short time to rejoice 'over the disgrace of the Roman army. Then would 'the Roman people be fully convinced, that they who 'had chosen him dictator, for the third time, had done 'the commonwealth much more important service, than 'they who had set a mark of infamy on his second dic-'tatorship, because he had set bounds to the tyranny 'of the censors.' Having then made proper vows to the gods, he took the field, and encamped fifteen hundred paces beyond Fidenæ, supported on the right by the mountains, and on the left by the Tiber. He ordered Titus Quinctius Pennus, his lieutenant general, to seize the mountains, and gain the eminence in the enemy's rear, where he might ly concealed. The next day, when the Hetrurians, highly elevated with their success on a former occasion, which they owed more to fortune than valour, offered him battle, he waited a little, till his scouts brought him intelligence, that Quinctius had gained the eminence, near the castle of Fidenæ, and then set up his standard, leading on his infantry already drawn up, by a quick march against the enemy, at the same time, enjoining the general of the horse, not to engage without his permission; for, that he would give him the signal, whenever the assistance of the horse became necessary: and, in the mean time, that he had only to think of the royal combat, the royal spoils of Romulus, and Jupiter Feretrius, in the time of action.

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The armies charged each other with great ardour on both sides. The Romans exasperated to the highest degree, insulted their enemies, with the approbrious names of villainous Fidenates, felonius Vejentes, truce-breakers, the cruel murderers of their ambassadors, the inhuman butchers of the Roman colony, perfidious allies, dastardly enemies; and thus gave full vent to their indignation in words, as well as actions.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Defeat of the Vejentes and Fidenates.

THEY had already begun to give way upon the first charge, when the gates of Fidenæ, on a sudden, flew open, and a strange kind of army sallied out, till that moment, never seen nor heard off. A huge multitude, armed with fire, and blazing all over with the flames of lighted torches, ran furiously against their enemies with a kind of enthusiastic rage; and by this new mode of fighting, put the Romans in some confusion. Then the dictator, to animate the battle, having given the signal to the general of the horse, and called down Quinctius from the heights, he flew in person to the left wing, which, terrified at the appearance of a conflagration, rather than a battle, had begun to draw back from the flames, and cried out with an audible voice; 'Will 'you then be driven from your ground, with nothing 'but smoke, like a swarm of bees, and fly before an 'unarmed enemy? Will you not extinguish these flames 'by your swords? If you are to fight with fire, and not 'the sword; will not each of you, for his own part, 'wrest these torches from the enemy, and turn them 'against themselves. Go, remember the Roman name, 'and your own valour, as well as the gallantry of your 'ancestors; turn these flames against the enemy's capital, 'and destroy Fidenæ by its own fires, which you have 'not been able to conciliate by all your favours. The 'blood of your ambassadors and colony, and the de-'predations made on your country, require this at your 'hands.'

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The dictator's orders, set the whole army in motion. Some of the torches that had been thrown, were recovered, some were wrested by force from the enemy, so that on both sides they were armed with torches. The general of the horse too charged on a plan entirely new. He ordered the cavalry to draw the bits out of the horses mouths, and clapping spurs to his own, was the first to drive full speed into the middle of the flames, whether he was followed by the rest, driving at full gallop against the enemy. A mixture of smoke and dust, raised by themselves, carried off the glancing of the light from the eyes both of the men and horses; nor had the appearance which had confounded the men, the least impression on the horses: so that the cavalry, wherever they went, beat down and trampled under foot all before them. Then a new shout was raised, which surprised and attracted the attention of both armies, till the dictator cried out; 'It is Quinctius, the 'lieutenant general, who, with the troops under his 'command, has attacked the enemy's rear:' and then with great cries pushed the attack with greater vigour than ever. Whilst two armies carrying on two different attacks, hemmed in and pressed the Etrurians, in front and in rear, so that they could neither retire into their camp, nor effectuate their escape to the mountains, whence a new enemy had come down upon them; and the unbridled horses being so dispersed as to meet them every where, the greatest part of the Vejentes fled with the utmost precipitation to the Tiber, and all the Fidenates, who were yet left alive, to their capital Fidenæ.

Their flight and terror hurried them to certain death. Some of the Vejentes were cut off upon the banks of the river, others were pushed into the water, and carried down by the stream: even those who could swim, sunk through weariness, wounds, and fear; so that few, out of a great number, made the other side.—The other part of the confederates, fled through the camp into the city, whether the Romans pursued them with great fury, especially Quinctius, and those who had come down with him from the heights, being still fresh, as having only advanced towards the end of the battle.

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CHAP. XXXIV.

Fidenæ taken and plundered. The Dictator returns in triumph.

THESE having entered the gates of the city, pell mell with the enemy, immediately got upon the top of the wall, and from thence made a ſignal to the reſt of the army, that they were in poſſeſſion of the town; which was no ſooner obſerved by the dictator, who, by this time, had taken poſſeſſion of the enemy's camp, by them juſt abandoned: then he led his troops to the gate, impatient as they were to leave their ranks and riffle the camp, but now encouraged to hope for greater plunder in the city; and being admitted within the walls, he marched ſtreight to the citadel, whether he ſaw the enemy flying in crouds. The ſlaughter in the city, was nothing ſhort of what it had been in the field, till the Fidenates laid down their arms, and begging only for their lives, ſurrendered at diſcretion. The city and the camp were both plundered by the troops.

Next day, the priſoners were diſpoſed of by lot, one being aſſigned to each of the knights and centurions; and to ſuch as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves more particularly, two a-piece. The reſt were ſold to the higheſt bidder; and then the dictator led back his army, crowned with laurels, and enriched with plunder, and entered the city in triumph.

He then ordered the general of the horſe to reſign his office, and abdicated his own, the ſixteenth day after he had received it; leaving the city in the moſt profound peace and tranquillity, which he had found involved in war, and in extreme conſternation.

Some annals make mention of a naval engagement, which the Romans had with the Vejentes at Fidenæ; a circumſtance as impoſſible, as it appears incredible: For, even at this day, the river is not broad enough for that purpoſe; and if we may believe antient authors, it was then not ſo broad as at preſent. Perhaps the Romans may have driven off ſome boats which came to aſſiſt the Vejentes in croſſing the river, and that circumſtance has

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been magnified, which is not uncommon, by those who were fond of the empty title of a naval victory.

CHAP. XXXV.

Celebration of Games. Complaints of the Tribunes.

A. SEMPRONIUS ATTRATINUS, Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus, L. Furius Medullinus, and L. Horatius Barbatus, were elected military tribunes, with consular power, for the ensuing year. The Vejentes obtained a truce for twenty years, and the Æqui for three only, though they had insisted for a longer term. The city now was at rest from civil dissentions. The following year, which was marked neither by a foreign war, nor domestic disturbances, was, however, rendered famous by the games, which had been vowed in time of war, the preparations for them made by the military tribunes, and the vast concourse of the neighbouring people. The tribunes with consular power, were Ap. Claudius Crassus, Sp. Nautius Rutilus, L. Sergius Fidenas, Sextus Julius Julus. What enhanced the pleasure of the entertainment, to the strangers who had come with the consent of their respective states, to be spectators, was the kind and engaging manner in which they were treated.

After the celebration of these games, the tribunes made seditious harrangues to the people, reproaching them severely, 'For their blind and stupid admiration 'of those, whom, at bottom, they hated, which kept 'them voluntarily in eternal slavery; that they not on-'ly durst not aspire to the hopes of sharing the consul-'ship with the Patricians, but could not even think of 'themselves, or their friends, in the nomination of mi-'litary tribunes, in which they had an equal right with 'the senate. It was no longer a wonder, that nobody 'gave himself trouble about the interests of the people: 'for who would expose himself to danger and fatigue, 'where neither honour, nor profit, was to be expected? 'There was nothing on earth, but men would attempt, 'if their rewards were proportioned to their endeavours.

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'It was a thing, therefore, neither to be expected nor 'desired, that any tribune of the people, should plunge 'himself headlong into disputes, where the danger was 'so great, and the advantage nothing; from which 'he could promise himself, for certain, eternal persecu-'tion from the senators, with whom he has to enter 'the lists; and from the people, from whom are all his 'exertions, no further honour or regard. It is from 'great honours that great courage proceeds; and no 'Plebeian would think meanly of himself, if he ceased 'to be despised by others. They ought certainly, at 'least, to make a trial, in an instance or two, whether 'any Plebeian be capable to support the weight of a 'great office in the state, and whether it is so prodigious 'an affair, to find a man of real merit and valour, born 'among the people.'

After many a struggle it was carried, that military tribunes, with consular power, might be elected, and that too, from the body of the people. Men who had distinguished themselves, both in peace and war, offered their services. In the first years, they were insulted, rejected, and exposed to the ridicule of the senators; and at last, they would no longer lay themselves open to such affronts. No good reason could be assigned, why a law should not be entirely abolished, that gave a right which they were never to use; for, it would be less shameful for them, to be excluded by an unjust law, than passed by and neglected, for their own personal defects.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Scheme of the military Tribunes.

THE applause, with which harrangues of this kind were received, induced some of the Plebeian order, to stand candidates for the office of military tribune; promising, some of them to get one, some another law passed, for the interest of the commons, during their administration. The people were encouraged to hope for a division of the public lands among them, an establishment of new colonies, and a tax to be laid on the

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landed intereſt, to raiſe a fund for the payment of the army. The military tribunes took the advantage of a ſeaſon, when few of the people were in town, having given the ſenators ſecret intimation to return againſt a certain day, in abſence of the tribunes of the people, to paſs a decree, that as there was advice, that the Volſci had taken the field, to ravage the country of the Hernici, the military tribunes ſhould ſet out immediately, to inform themſelves on the ſpot; and that, in the mean time, an aſſembly for the election of conſuls ſhould be held.

They left, at their departure, as præfect of the city, Appius Claudius, the ſon of the decemvir, a young magiſtrate of great fire and vivacity, and who from his craddle, had imbibed an averſion to the people and their tribunes. The tribunes afterwards had no room to contend with thoſe who had procured this act of ſenate, becauſe they were abſent; nor with Appius, becauſe the affair was entirely over and completed.

CHAP. XXXVII. *Sempronius acts uncautiouſly.*

THE faſces were conferred on C. Sempronius Atratinus, and Q. Fabius Vibulanus. An event which happened this year, though it has no immediate connexion with the affairs of Rome, deſerves to be taken notice of here. Vulturuum, a city belonging to the Etrurians, now called Capua, was taken by the Samnites. It got the name of Capua *, from Capys, the general of the Samnites; or, which is more probable, from the openneſs of the country. However that be, they got poſſeſſion of it in this manner.

The Etrurians being quite exhauſted by a tedious war, the Samnites were firſt admitted to ſettle with them in the city, and its territory; and, ſometime after, taking the advantage of a public ſolemnity, the new comers

* Capua was conſidered as one of the three moſt conſiderable cities in the world; and, for ſome time, rivaled both Rome and Carthage. Its ruins ſtill remain near the village Sancte Maria di Capoa, ſituated in one of the fineſt provinces of the kingdom of Naples.

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fell upon the first inhabitants, buried in wine and sleep, and murdered them all in the night. Immediately on the back of these transactions, the consuls mentioned above, entered upon their office, on the thirteenth day of December. By this time, the envoys reported, that a war with the Volsci was unavoidable, which was also confirmed by dispatches from the Latins and Hernici, importing, that never upon any former occasion, had the Volsci appeared more in earnest, either with respect to the choice of their generals, or expediting their levies; declaring upon all occasions, that they must now bid adieu to arms and war for ever, and tamely submit to the yoke of servitude, or no longer show themselves inferior to those, with whom they contended for sovereignty, in personal bravery, patience under hardships, and military discipline.

These accounts were far from being groundless, tho' they seemed to make no great impression on the fathers; and C. Sempronius, who by lot had the command in that war, trusting entirely to fortune, as a thing incapable of change, especially as he led a victorious army against a conquered enemy, performed all the duties of his office, without caution or care; insomuch, that there was more of the Roman discipline to be found in the Volscian army, than in their own. For which reason, fortune, as it has often happened before, shifted to that side, where merit was most conspicuous.

In the first engagement, which Sempronius hazarded without the least precaution or consideration, having formed no corps-de-reserve, and made a very injudicious disposition of his horse, before the action. The shouts gave the first intimation of the turn matters were like to take: these raised by the enemy, were brisker and more constant; whilst on the side of the Romans, they were confused, unequal, faint, and often repeated, and by their discord, expressive of the fear which had taken possession within. Encouraged by this, the enemy advanced with redoubled fury, pressed hard upon them with their shields, and plied them with their brandished swords. On the other side, the soldiers stood staring about them, their helmets nodding on their heads, and being totally at a loss how to act, ran trembling together in crouds.

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The colours ſometimes ſtanding ſtill, were abandoned by the front ranks; at other times they were moved back, and planted among their own ſquadrons. As yet they had not reſolved to fly, nor were the enemy abſolutely certain of victory. The Romans, however, acted rather upon the defenſive, than the offenſive, whilſt the Volſci advanced their ſtandards, preſſed hard upon the Roman ranks, and ſaw many more of them fall than fly.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Gallantry of Sextus Tempanius.

BY this time, they began to give way every where, and it was in vain for the conſul to employ either exhortations or reproaches; his authority and the majeſty of his perſon, were equally diſregarded: and they would immediately have turned their backs upon the enemy, had not Sextus Tempanius, a decurio of the horſe, by a lucky thought and ſpirited execution, prevented a total defeat. He cried out with a loud voice to the horſe, to diſmount, if they would ſave the commonwealth. The whole ſquadrons obeyed him, to a man, as if the conſul himſelf had given the orders: 'Unleſs,' *ſays he*, 'this armed body of ours, check the 'enemy's ardour, the Roman power is no more. Fol'low my lance, inſtead of an enſign, and ſhow both the 'Romans and the Volſci, that on foot, as well as on 'horſeback, you are irreſiſtible.' All joined in a ſhout to expreſs their approbation, and he advanced at their head, carrying his ſpear aloft: wherever they appeared, they cleared the way; and covering themſelves with their ſhields, charged the enemy, where the Romans were moſt preſſed. Where they once attacked, they were ſure to reinſtate the fortune of the day; nor is there the leaſt queſtion, that if their number could have admitted them, to ſhow themſelves every where, but they would have obliged the enemy to fly.

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CHAP. XXXIX. *A drawn Battle.*

AS their impetuosity was every where irresistible, the general of the Volsci, ordered his troops to open a passage for the new battalion with the round bucklers, till their impetuosity should hurry them too far, for rejoining their own army. This happened accordingly. The cavalry were blocked up, and found it quite impracticable to return the way they had advanced: the enemy having closed, and in that part of the line, standing in very close array.

The consul and Roman legions having lost sight of that battalion, which was the life and soul of their army, and fearing those generous troops would be blocked up and overpowered by the enemy, outbraved every danger for their relief. The Volsci making a double front, on the one side sustained the charge of the consul and his legions; and on the other pressed hard upon Tempanius and his cavalry, who having often attempted to break through the enemy's ranks, to join the main body of their army, without effect, at last took possession of an eminence, where throwing themselves into a ring, they defended themselves with such bravery as cost the Volsci dear. Only the night put an end to the battle.

The consul, on his part, kept the enemy sufficiently employed, while any light remained. Night drew off both sides, equally uncertain which was victorious. Their ignorance, in this respect, struck such a panic on both, that leaving their wounded, and a great part of their baggage behind, both concluding themselves defeated, made the best of their way to the mountains which lay nearest them. The eminence, however, continued to be invested till after midnight, when the besiegers being informed, that their camp was abandoned, and not doubting, but the army had been also defeated, went off in a fright, under cover of the darkness, the best way they could.

Tempanius fearing an ambuscade, kept his post till day-light; when he went out with a few of his followers to reconnoitre the enemy, and found upon enquiry at some of the wounded enemy, that the Volsci had aban-

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doned their camp. Then with pleaſure calling down all his ſoldiers from the hill, he entered the Roman camp, and there found the like ſolitude and total deſertion, as in the enemy's. Therefore, as he was entirely ignorant of the conſul's rout, and fearing a return of the Volſci, upon the firſt diſcovery of their error, he took up as many of the wounded Romans as he could, and marched ſtreight to Rome.

CHAP. XL.

Tempanius returns to Rome, and examined by the Tribunes.

THE news of this unfortunate battle, and deſertion of the camp, had already reached the city. The loſs of the cavalry, was particularly deplored by the public in general, as well as their connexions. The conſul Fabius, to prevent ſurpriſe, the whole city being alarmed, poſted troops at the gates. When the cavalry appeared at a diſtance, the conſternation was ſtill greater, as being uncertain who they were. The moment it was diſcovered, that theſe troops were the horſe, returned ſafe and victorious, their fear was converted into ſuch an exceſs of joy, that the acclamations of thoſe who congratulated them, were heard over all the city: and thoſe families, that but a little before, were in the deepeſt concern, crying out, that their friends were gone, ran out to the ſtreets in tranſports, and the mothers and wives, quite out of their ſenſes, forgetting decency in their preſent extaſy, ran out to meet the troops, each embracing her own, with ſuch expreſſions of tenderneſs and tears of joy, as almoſt approached diſtraction.

The tribunes of the people, who had impeached M. Poſthumius and T. Quinctius, on account of the battle of Veii, loſt by their means, thought this a noble opportunity, in the preſent reſentment of the people againſt Sempronius, for reviving the odium againſt them. Wherefore, having called an aſſembly, they bawled out with great warmth, that becauſe the commonwealth had been betrayed by its generals at Veii, and their fault had remained unpuniſhed, the army had again been betrayed by the conſul, in the country of the Volſci,

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the braveſt of the cavalry given up to deſtruction, and the camp ſhamefully abandoned. One of the tribunes, C. Icilius, ordered the knight Tempanius, to be cited before them, and interrogated him as follows.

Sextus Tempanius, I aſk you, 'Whether you think, 'that the conſul Sempronius choſe a proper time to 'come to an engagement, ſupported his line of battle 'with reinforcements, or diſcharged any of the duties 'of a good conſul?—When you ſaw the legions routed, 'did you not, of your own accord, prevail on the ca-'valry to diſmount, and reinſtate the battle? When 'you and your followers were ſeparated from the main 'body of the army, did the conſul come in perſon, or 'ſend any other to your relief? Were you joined by 'any reinforcement next day? Did not you, and your 'battalion, make good your way to the camp, by means 'of your own bravery alone? Did you find the conſul 'or any army there? Was not the camp abandoned, 'and the wounded ſoldiers left in it? Theſe queſtions 'you are to anſwer this day, as a man of honour and a 'ſoldier, by whoſe bravery alone, the republic has been 'ſaved in this war. To conclude; where is C. Sem-'pronius?—What is become of our legions? Did the 'conſul and the army abandon you, or you them? 'are we the conquerors, or the vanquiſhed?

CHAP. XLI.

Tempanius's ſenſible and modeſt Anſwer.

TEMPANIUS's anſwer to theſe interrogatories, is ſaid to have been ſimple, but ſenſible, and in the ſtile of a ſoldier, neither ſwelled with encomiums on himſelf, nor enlivened with cenſures upon others. He ſaid, 'That it did not become him, as a 'ſoldier, to decide with reſpect to the military abilities 'of his general: It was the buſineſs of the Roman 'people, to have been ſatisfied as to theſe, when at the 'general election they choſe him conſul. Wherefore, 'it was highly improper to interrogate him, upon the 'plans and deſigns of a commander in chief, or the 'political virtues of a conſul, points that required ex-

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'perience, and the penetration of the ableſt heads to 'diſcuſs; that for his own part, he could only ſpeak 'what he ſaw; that before he was ſeparated from the 'army, he obſerved the conſul fighting at the head of 'his troops, encouraging the ſoldiers, and always in 'the midſt of the Roman enſigns, expoſed to the darts 'of the enemy. That afterwards he loſt ſight of the 'Roman army, but by the ſhouts and cries which he 'heard, he judged, that the action continued till night. 'Conſidering the enemy's numbers, he did not believe 'it was poſſible to force a paſſage to the riſing ground 'which he had ſeized. That he knew not where the 'army was, but he had reaſon to imagine, for the pre-'ſervation of the army, the conſul had retired to ſome 'place of greater ſafety than his own camp, as he him-'ſelf, in a caſe of neceſſity, had ſecured himſelf and 'followers, by the natural ſtrength of the ground he 'had taken. That it was his own opinion, the affairs 'of the Volſci, were in no better condition than thoſe 'of the Romans; and that the darkneſs had concealed 'from both parties, their own ſituation, and that of 'each other.' He was then, at his requeſt, that they would detain him no longer, as he was quite exhauſted with the fatigue of his march, and the pain of his wounds, diſmiſſed with the applauſes of all the people, for his moderation, ſtill more than for his valour and good conduct.

This ſcene was ſcarcely over, when the conſul appeared at the temple of Quies, in the Lavinian way. Thither horſes and carriages, and other conveyances were ſent from the city, to take up the ſoldiers, quite ſpent with the fatigue of the battle, and travelling all night. A little after, the conſul made his entry into the city, and was not at greater pains to clear himſelf, with reſpect to the late miſcarriage, than to give Tempanius the praiſes due to his merit.

Whilſt the ſtate was afflicted, on account of their late diſaſter, and highly diſſatisfied with their generals, M. Poſthumius, who had been one of the military tribunes, with conſular power, that commanded at Veii, was impeached before the people, and fined in 10,000 aſſes of

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braſs †. Titus Quinctius, his colleague, laid the whole blame of that miſcarriage upon Poſthumius, who was already condemned; and out of regard to his great ſervices againſt the Volſci, when conſul, under the dictator Poſthumius Tubertus; and at Fidenæ, in quality of lieutenant general to Mamercus Æmilius, another dictator, he was acquitted by all the tribes. The memory of his venerable father Cincinnatus, is ſaid to have been of great uſe to him on this occaſion, and the interceſſion of Capitolinus Quinctius, now ſpent with years, who intreated the people, in the moſt humble manner, that now when his life was ſo near a cloſe, they would not make him the meſſenger of news ſo very diſtreſſing to Cincinnatus.

CHAP. XLII.

Generous conduct of the four Tribunes, with reſpect to Sempronius.

SEX. TEMPANIUS, A. Sellius, L. Antiſtius, Sex. Pompilius, in their abſence, were elected tribunes by the people. The three laſt, the horſe had choſen for their centurions, by the advice of Tempanius. The ſenate finding, that the name of conſul, out of odium to Sempronius, gave offence, ordered military tribunes, with conſular power, to be created; in conſequence of which, the choice fell upon L. Manlius Capitolinus, Q. Antonius Merenda, and L. Papirius Mugillanus. In the beginning of the year, L. Hortenſius, one of the tribunes, cited Sempronius, the late conſul, to take his trial: and when four of his colleagues conjured him, in preſence of the Roman people, not to harraſs their general, who was innocent, and could be reproached with nothing but his ill fortune; Hortenſius took it amiſs, imagining they only meant to try his reſolution, as the delinquent rather depended on the aſſiſtance, than the mediation of the tribunes, which was intended only for ſhow: wherefore, turning immediately to Sempronius, he aſked him, 'What was become of

† £. 32. 5. 10.

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'his Patrician ſpirit, and that confidence with which a 'conſciouſneſs of innocence would inſpire him, when he, 'a conſular, took ſhelter under the ſhadow of the tri- 'bunes?' Then turning to his colleagues: 'But if I 'ſhould perſiſt in my proſecution of this delinquent, 'what part will you act? Will you rob the people of 'their judicative privileges, and overturn the power of 'the tribunes?' They replied, that the Roman people had indiſputably a ſupreme authority over Sempronius, and every member of the ſtate, and for their own part, they had neither the inclination nor the power of depriving the people of their prerogative in judging the accuſed; but if their earneſt entreaties in behalf of their general, who had been to them an indulgent parent, could not prevail, they would go into mourning with him. 'Nay,' *replied Hortenſius*, 'but that ſhall not 'be; the commons of Rome ſhall not ſee their tribunes 'into mourning. I have nothing further to ſay againſt 'C. Sempronius, who by his behaviour in command, 'could endear himſelf ſo effectually to his ſoldiers.'

The grateful affection of the four tribunes, did not give greater pleaſure to the ſenators and people, who were equally affected, than the good nature of Hortenſius which diſpoſed him to yield ſo readily to their reaſonable requeſt. Fortune did not continue long to fawn upon the Æqui, whoſe mercury roſe as high upon this doubtful victory of the Æqui, as if they themſelves had been crowned with laurels.

CHAP. XLIII.

The Æqui in motion, ſuppreſſed. New conteſts.—Wiſe counſel of L. Papirius Mugilanus.

NEXT year, in the conſulſhip of Numerius Fabius Vibulanus, and T. Quinctius Capitolinus, the ſon of Capitolinus; Fabius, who had got the direction of the war by lot, performed nothing memorable; for, the Æqui had no ſooner ſhown their faces, than like a convention of cowards, they took to their heels; ſo that the conſul gained no great honour, and of courſe was refuſed a triumph. Yet becauſe this victory ſerved in

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ſome meaſure to extenuate the reproach of the Sempronian diſaſter, he was permitted to enter the city with an oration. As this war was brought to a concluſion, with leſs trouble than had been apprehended, ſo alſo in the city there aroſe, out of a profound calm, an unexpected ſtorm of diſſention between the ſenate and the people, which had its foundation in a propoſal to double the number of the quæſtors.

The conſuls had moved, that beſides the two city quæſtors, there ſhould be two others created to attend the army, and aſſiſt the conſuls in time of war. This motion was highly approved off by the fathers, but the tribunes of the commons, were determined to oppoſe it, unleſs the conſuls added a clauſe, that ſome of the quæſtors, who till then had always been Patricians, ſhould be choſen out of the Plebeian order. The conſuls, and alſo the ſenators, at firſt, oppoſed this amendment with all their might; but afterwards yielded ſo far, that in the election of quæſtors, as in that of military tribunes with conſular power, the people ſhould be at liberty to chuſe whom they thought proper. When this propoſal was not accepted, they dropt the deſign of increaſing the number of quæſtors entirely.

The tribunes took up the affair where the ſenators left it, and ſoon after introduced other ſeditious claims, and amongſt the reſt, that of the Agrarian law. Upon account of theſe commotions, the ſenate wanted, that conſuls rather than military tribunes ſhould be choſen; but as they could not, by reaſon of the oppoſition of the tribunes, paſs an act for that purpoſe. From conſuls, the adminiſtration returned to an inter-regnum, and even that coſt no ſmall conteſt, as the tribunes were indefatigable in their endeavours to prevent a meeting of the ſenate.

The beſt part of next year, was ſpent in diſputes between the new tribunes and the gentlemen who acted ſucceſſively in the capacity of inter-rex; the tribunes ſometimes preventing a meeting of the ſenate, for electing an inter-rex, and when one had been choſen, raiſing a duſt to prevent an act of ſenate from being paſſed, for holding the conſular comitia, till at length, L. Papirius Mugillanus, then inter-rex, commenting very ſharply on

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the conduct of both Patricians and tribunes; told them, 'That the republic, abandoned as it was, and neglected 'by men, was yet under the peculiar care and protection 'of the Gods, who had provided for its safety in the 'truce with the Vejentes, and the inaction of the Æqui. 'But should the motions of any of these nations raise an 'alarm, it was evident, that they were determined to 'suffer the state to be ruined, without a Patrician magi-'strate at its head. At present there was no army, nor 'general to raise one. Will a civil war at home, be 'any defence against the incursions of a foreign enemy? 'On the contrary, should we be attacked by both these 'calamities at once, the power of all the Gods, would 'be barely sufficient to save us from destruction. Ought 'not then the contending parties to abate something of 'their high pretensions, and meet each other half way, 'to restore harmony to the state? Let the senate per-'mit military tribunes to be elected instead of consuls, 'and the tribunes lay the people under no constraint in 'the choice of four quæstors, out of either order, as 'they shall think proper.'

CHAP. XLIV.

Trial of Sempronius, and a Vestal.

THE Comitia for the election of tribunes met first, when L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, for the third time, L. Furius Medullinus, for the second, M. Manlius, and A. Sempronius Atratinus, all Patricians, were chosen. Sempronius presided in the election of Quæstors, when, among some other Plebeians, Antistius and Sextus Pompilius, both tribunes recommended, the first his son, and the last his brother, as candidates for the quæstorship; but they had neither interest, nor a sufficient number of votes to prevent the people from preferring those, on account of their high birth, whose fathers and grand-fathers, they had seen vested with the consulate.

The tribunes, upon this repulse, and particularly Antistius and Pompilius, enraged almost to madness,

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cried out; 'That they could not conceive how the 'people could be so insensible to the services they had 'done them, the ill treatment they had received from 'the senators, and the pleasure of putting in practice a 'new right they had not before, as not to honour one 'of their own number, if not with the dignity of a mi-'litary tribune, at least with that of a quæstor. What! 'two tribunes of the commons, vested with that sacred 'power, instituted for the support of liberty, the one 'recommending and soliciting for his son, and the o-'ther for his brother, and both disregarded! There 'must infallibly have been some trick here, and Sem-'pronius in presiding at the comitia, has discovered 'more art than honesty. For which reason, they had 'a right to complain, that their friends had been dis-'appointed, by his uncandid procedure.' As Atratinus himself was above their reach, both on account of his known integrity, and the high station in which he served, they turned all their fury against C. Sempronius, his relation; and, by the assistance of M. Canuleius, their colleague, revived the prosecution against him, for the disgrace he had brought upon the state, in the war with the Volsci.

It was not long after that, till the tribunes proposed in the senate, a division of the lands among the people; a motion, which C. Sempronius had always most zealously opposed, with a view, as it turned out, to lessen his interest with the Patricians, should he appear more passive, or expose himself to the resentment of the people, at the time of his trial, should he persist in his opposition. But, he rather chose to be the butt of their malice, than expose his character, by deserting the public cause, though at the hazard of his own; and, therefore, continued firm in his former opinion: 'That it would be 'bad policy to gratify three factious tribunes, who, in 'fact, did not want to get land for the people, but to 'raise the peoples resentment against him. For his own 'part, he was determined to stand the storm, without 'flinching; and he saw no reason, why he, or any o-'ther citizen of Rome, should be considered by the se-'nate, in such an important point of view, that in sav-'ing him, the state should be exposed to any hardship.'

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With the ſame ſteadineſs, on the day of his trial, he pleaded his own cauſe: but when the ſenators had tried every method to ſoften the people in his favour, they were ſtill inexorable, and condemned him in a fine of 15,000 aſſes of braſs *.

This year too, Poſthumia, a veſtal virgin, was impeached for incontinence. She was found innocent, as to the crime; but ſhe had paid too much attention to dreſs, and been too free in her behaviour for a veſtal, which had created ſuſpicions †, to her diſadvantage. Wherefore, her trial was put off for want of evidence ‡, and ſhe was afterwards acquitted: but the high prieſt, with the conſent and approbation of the whole college, admoniſhed her, to behave with more prudence and leſs gayity for the future, and to have more regard to modeſty, than taſte and elegance in her dreſs.—This year alſo, Cumæ, a city till then, poſſeſſed by the Greeks, was taken by the people of Capua. In the following year, the military tribunes with conſular power, were Agrippa Menenius Lanatus, P. Lucretius Tricipitinus, and Sp. Nautius Rutilus.

CHAP. XLV.

Conſpiracy of the Slaves. Motions of the Æqui and Lavicans. Obſtinacy of the Military Tribunes.

THIS year was more remarkable for a lucky eſcape the Roman people had from a dangerous plot, than any evil conſequence that attended it. The ſlaves had formed a conſpiracy, to ſet the city on fire in ſeveral places, at a diſtance from each other, and with arms in their hands, to ſeize the citadel and capitol, whilſt the people were employed in ſaving their houſes. But Jupiter fruſtrated the effect of their criminal intenſions; for the plot being diſcovered by two of their number, the conſpirators were ſecured, and puniſhed with death. The informers, for ſo important a ſervice, were reward-

* £ 48. 8. 8. † *Ob ſuſpicionem*,—rather *ab ſuſpicione*. ‡ *Ampliatum*, *ab amplius cenſendo*, adjourned, ſiſted, for a new hearing.

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ed with their liberty, and 10,000 asses of brass †, weighed out of the treasury. A capital sum in those days.

After this, the Æqui began to make preparations for war; and besides, advices were received at Rome, the certainty of which was not to be doubted, that the people of Lavicum, who, on no former occasion had been at war with the Romans, were associating themselves, with these old enemies of the state. The war with the Æqui, was in a manner become annual; but ambassadors were immediately sent to Lavicum, who returning with ambiguous answers, such as, that the people of Lavicum, had not yet begun to make preparations for war, but did not seem as if they would be long at peace. The Tusculans were charged to keep a strict eye on Lavicum, that no new commotions might arise there.

Soon after the military tribunes with consular power, *viz.* L. Sergius Fidenas, M. Papirius Mugillanus, and C. Servilius, the son of Priscus, who had been dictator when Fidenæ was taken, were chosen for the next year, and had entered upon their office; advices came by envoys from Tusculum, 'That the Lavicans 'had taken up arms, joined the troops of the Æqui, 'ravaged the country about Tusculum, and encamped 'at the Algidus.' War was then declared against the Lavicans, and the senate enacted, that two of the military tribunes should march against the enemy, and the third remain at Rome, for the government of the city. This occasioned high words among the military tribunes, each of them pretending, that he was most capable of commanding the army, and expressing his contempt of the civil government of the city, as a mean and disagreeable office. The senators observing, with no small wonder, a misunderstanding so indecent among them, Q. Servilius told them; 'Since 'you have no respect either for the senate, or for the 'commonwealth, paternal authority shall put an end 'to the dispute. My son, without casting lots, shall 'take upon him the care of the city. I wish those who 'are so fond of war, may discover more prudence and

† £ 32. 5. 9. 3.

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'unanimity in conducting it, than they seem to do in 'desiring it.'

CHAP. XLVI.

Misunderstanding and miscarriage of the Tribunes. A Dictator chosen.

AS it was judged improper to raise recruits indiscriminately from among all the people, ten tribes were drawn by lot; and the two tribunes having enlisted the young men belonging to them, led them out to the field. The misunderstanding which began to appear between them in the city, their desire of commanding alone being not in the least abated, broke out with still greater fury in the camp. In sentiment they never agreed; and each stuck inflexibly to his own. Each was for having no counsels followed, and no orders executed but his own. The only point they agreed in, was a sovereign contempt for each other; till upon a remonstrance from their lieutenant generals, matters were so ordered, that they were to command each his day alternately.

When these accounts came to Rome, Servilius, whose experience was equal to his years, is said to have implored the gods, that the discord of the tribunes might not prove more fatal to the commonwealth, than it had been at Veii: and as if he had seen that some great calamity was at hand, he pressed his son to make levies, and be ready to take the field. He was not mistaken. Sergius, on one of the days, when he commanded in chief, was drawn by a feigned retreat of the Æqui, into a steep and disadvantageous ground close under their lines, vainly imagining he would make himself master of their camp. By a sudden sally from the camp, the Æqui drove them down the precipice, and more of them were dashed to pieces by the weight of the fall down the declivity, than fell by the precipitancy of their flight. With much difficulty, the Romans kept possession of their camp that day; and the next, when they saw themselves invested almost on every side by the enemy, they made their escape out at a back gate, and shamefully abandoned it. The generals with their lieutenants, and the best troops,

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that did not quit the enſigns, retired to Tuſculum, whilſt the reſt diſperſing themſelves about the country, came to Rome by different ways, and repreſented their loſs much greater than it really was.

At Rome the alarm was leſs, both becauſe in their fears they had anticipated all that happened, and young Servilius had got together a new body of recruits to aſſiſt them upon occaſion. The inferior magiſtrates alſo, by his order quieted the commotions in the city; and the couriers who had been diſpatched to inform themſelves of the ſtate of the armies, brought advice, that the generals and their troops were at Tuſculum, and that the enemy ſtill continued in their old camp. But what revived their courage in a peculiar manner, was the nomination of Quinctius Servilius Priſcus, dictator by order of the ſenate; a man, of whoſe penetration, the ſtate had had proofs on former occaſions, and eſpecially with reſpect to the event of this war, he being the only one who, before the late miſcarriage, ſeemed to foreſee the conſequence of the miſunderſtanding of the tribunes. According to ſome authors, he choſe his ſon general of the horſe; by whom, in quality of military tribune, he had been himſelf declared dictator. Others, however, ſay, that Servilius Ahala was made general of the horſe upon this occaſion. Wherefore, taking the field with his new army, he reinforced it with that at Tuſculum, and encamped within two miles of the enemy.

CHAP. XLVII.

The defeat of the Æqui and Lavicans, and capture of Lavicum, for which a Roman colony was voted.

THE neglect and inſolence, which had formerly prevailed in the Roman generals, went over to the Æqui, with their good ſucceſs. The dictator having ſent his horſe, in the beginning of the battle, to charge the enemy's front, which was ſoon put into diſorder, ordered the legions to advance to ſupport them with all expedition; and obſerving an enſign ſlaken his pace, he killed him on the ſpot. The ardour of the Roman troops was too much for the Æqui to ſuſtain; where-

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fore being overpowered in the field, they fled with great precipitation to their camp, which required ſtill leſs time and trouble to force, than it had done to beat them in the field: The camp being taken and rifled, the dictator gave all the plunder of it to the troops.

The horſe, who had purſued the enemy in their flight out of the camp, having brought advice, that the routed Lavicans, and a great part of the Æqui, had fled to Lavicum, the army marched thither next day, inveſted the place, and having taken it by ſcalade, it was plundered by the ſoldiers. The dictator marched back his victorious army to Rome, and reſigned the dictatorſhip, eight days after his nomination.

The ſenate, before the tribunes had time to ſpeak of a diſtribution of the territory of Lavicum*, and by that means revive the diſputes about the Agrarian law, at a full meeting, very judiciouſly voted, 'that a colony 'ſhould be planted at Lavicum.' Fifteen hundred citizens went thither, to each of whom were aſſigned two Roman acres†. After the capture of Lavicum, for the firſt year, Agrippa Menenius Lanatus, L. Servilius Structus, and P. Lucretius Tricipitinus, all for the ſecond time, and Sp. Rutilius Craſſus; and for the year following, A. Sempronius Atratinus, for the third time; and M. Papirius Mugilanus, with Sp. Nautius Rutilus, for the ſecond time, preſided in quality of military tribunes with conſular power. During theſe two years, all was quiet abroad; but the domeſtic tranquillity was greatly diſturbed with diſputes about the Agrarian laws.

CHAP. XLVIII.

Conteſts about the Agrarian law. Advice of Appius.

THE tribunes who at this time kept the people in a ferment, were Sp. Mæcilius and Metilius, who had been both elected in their abſence; the former for the fourth, and the latter for the third time. They had preferred a bill, *for an equal diſtribution of the conquer-*

* A city of the Latins about 15 miles from Rome.

† Jugerum, 240 by 120 feet, or 5-7ths of an Engliſh acre.

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ed lands among the citizens. But as the city itſelf ſtood on conquered ground, and ſcarce any land about it, but what had been the perquiſite of their valour, which, by the bye, excepting what the people had in poſſeſſion, had neither been expoſed to ſale, nor diſtributed by public authority, by this bill, the greateſt part of the eſtates of the nobility muſt have been confiſcated, which of conſequence ſeemed to lay the foundation of very warm conteſts between the ſenate and people. Nor could the military tribunes, although they often conveened the ſenate, and had private conventions of the principal men of the Patrician party, fall on any expedient to obviate this dilemma, till Appius Claudius, the grandſon of that Appius, who was created decemvir for compiling a body of laws, at this time the youngeſt of all the ſenators, repreſented, as it is related of him, 'That he would lay 'before them an old political maxim hereditary in his 'family, which his great grandfather, Appius Claudius, 'had convinced the ſenate, was the only expedient for 'oppoſing the tyranny of the tribunes, and that was 'by ſtirring up an oppoſition among themſelves. Perſons who had but lately emerged from obſcurity, would 'eaſily be induced by the influence of the great, to take 'the other ſide of the argument, would the ſenators 'only deign ſometimes to ſpeak to them in terms more 'agreeable to the times, than to the dignity of their 'rank. The pride of ſuch generally kept pace with their 'condition; and therefore the moment they were con'vinced that their colleagues who took the lead in this 'affair, had engroſſed the favour of the people, and 'that themſelves had only a blank in reverſion, it 'would be no difficult matter to bring them over to the 'ſide of the ſenate, whereby they might attract the at'tention of the whole order, as well as the principal 'men in it.' All of them approved of this plan, eſpecially Q. Servilius Priſcus, who run out much in praiſes of the young nobleman, becauſe he had not degenerated from the virtue of his anceſtors; and recommended in a particular manner to the order, to employ their intereſt reſpectively, to engage as many of the college of tribunes as poſſible, to join in oppoſition to the bill.

After the ſenate was adjourned, the principal mem-

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bers applied themſelves to gain the tribunes, and by perſuaſion, remonſtrating, and aſſuring them that they would not only lay every ſingle ſenator, but the whole body under a particular obligation; they engaged ſix of them to diſſent from their colleagues. Next day, as it had been concerted, a motion was made in the ſenate, relative to the ſedition excited by Mæcilius and Metilius, about a largeſs of a moſt dangerous tendency: and each of the ſenators, in giving his opinion of the matter, took care to declare, that for his own part he was at a loſs to ſay, nor could he ſee the leaſt proſpect of relief from any quarter, but from the oppoſition of the tribunes. The Republic, oppreſſed as it was, and reduced to a ſtate of bankruptcy, now fled to the protection of that college: and it would tend much to their own honour, as well as to the dignity of their office, if it ſhould appear, that the power with which they were inveſted, was not ſo much calculated for harraſſing the ſenate, and ſowing diſcord among the different orders of the ſtate, as to oppoſe the malevolent deſigns of their colleagues. There was now a noiſe all over the ſenate-houſe, occaſioned by the members, who, from every corner, appealed to the college of tribunes.

When ſilence was ordered, they who had been previouſly prepared by the application of the principal ſenators, declared, that they would oppoſe the bill preferred by their colleagues, ſince it was the judgment of the ſenate, that it tended to the ſubverſion of the ſtate. The ſenate returned thanks to the diſſenting tribunes; and thoſe who had preferred the bill, ſummoned an aſſembly, where, having inveighed againſt their colleagues, as *traitors* to the intereſts of their conſtituents, *creatures* of the conſulars, and other opprobrious appellatives, they dropt from their motion.

CHAP. XLIX.

The Æqui humbled. Pride of Poſthumius checked by L. Sextius.

THE next year, P. Cornelius Coſſus, C. Valerius Potitus, Q. Quinctius Cincinnatus, and Numerius

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Fabius Vibulanus were created military tribunes with consular power. Whilst they were in office, the Republic would have had war with two of its restless neighbours, if that with the Vejentes had not been put off by a religious scruple among their chiefs, whose estates an inundation of the Tiber had lately damaged, by demolishing their seats and villas; and the Æqui been diverted from assisting the inhabitants of Volæ, a people belonging to their own nation, by the blow they had received three years before. Incursions had been made from thence upon the territory of Lavicum, bordering with theirs, and hostilities committed upon the Roman colony lately planted there. They thought, by the assistance of all the Æqui, they would escape with impunity for this insult; but being thus abandoned by their countrymen, the war with them was very inconsiderable, for they lost both their city and its territory, by one slight engagement and a short siege.

L. Sextius, one of the popular tribunes, attempted to bring in a bill, for sending a colony to Volæ, as had been done to Lavicum. It ended in nothing, by reason of the dissent of his colleagues, who declared, that they would suffer no bill to pass in the assembly of the commons, without the consent of the senate. Next year, the Æqui having recovered Volæ, peopled it anew, and strengthened the fortifications of the place, during the presidency of Quinctius Fabius Vibulanus for the second time, Cn. Cornelius Cossus, L. Valerius Potitus, and Posthumius Regillensis *, in quality of military tribunes with consular power.

To Posthumius was committed the management of the war against the Æqui. He was a man of a vile disposition, which became more visible in his victory, than during the dependence of the war: For, having raised an army with great expedition, and marched against Volæ, in several skirmishes, he humbled the Æqui, and at last made himself master of their city, when he turned the insolence of his temper from the enemy, upon his fellow-

* Regillensis was a surname common to two families; the Claudian and Posthumian to the first, because they came from Regillum; to the last, in honour of the victory gained by Posthumius over the Latins at the lake Regillus.

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citizens; and though whilſt he was carrying on the ſiege, he had publiſhed that the ſoldiers ſhould have the plunder, after it was taken, he broke his word.

I rather think that the reſentment of the army originated in this circumſtance, than becauſe the city, which had been lately plundered, and peopled with a new colony, did not produce ſo large a booty, as this tribune had given out. From whatever ſource this diſguſt proceeded, he inflamed it much, upon his return to the city, being recalled by his colleagues on account of the duſt raiſed by the tribunes. An expreſſion of his was taken notice of in the aſſembly, equally ridiculous and extravagant. As Sextius, one of the tribunes, was propoſing the Agrarian law, he added, that he would alſo bring in a bill, for ſending a colony to Volæ, becauſe that city and its pertinents was in juſtice the property of thoſe who had conquered it by their arms: "Wo be to "my ſoldiers indeed, *ſays he*, if they will not be quiet." An expreſſion, which was not more ſhocking to the aſſembly who heard it, than it was afterwards to the ſenators.

The tribune Sextius, a man who neither wanted ſpirit nor eloquence, having found in the oppoſition a proud heart and a petulant tongue, whom he could provoke and enrage, till he was driven to ſuch expreſſions as would not only render himſelf odious, but the cauſe he eſpouſed, and the order to which he belonged, attacked Poſthumius more frequently, and with greater warmth, than any of the other military tribunes. Therefore, immediately upon the harſh and brutal expreſſion, he cried out, 'Do you hear, Romans, how Poſthumius 'threatens his ſoldiers, as if they were his ſlaves? How-'ever, when the firſt offices of the ſtate are to be diſ-'poſed of, this ſavage will be thought more worthy of 'them in your judgment, than thoſe who provide you 'with cities and lands, and ſend you into colonies; who 'procure you ſafe retreats for your old age; and for 'your intereſt, enter the liſts with ſuch cruel and haugh-'ty antagoniſts. After this you may wonder, if you 'pleaſe, why ſo few appear as champions for the defence 'of your rights. What have they to expect from you?

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'—Is it these honours which you chuse rather to confer on your adversaries than your defenders? The expressions you just now heard, drew groans from you. But what then? Were you just now to go to an election, you would prefer this man, who threatens you with *woe*, to those who are for procuring you lands, dwellings, and establishments.'

CHAP. L.

Posthumius stoned to death by his own Army.

THE report of this injurious expression having spread in the camp, it occasioned much greater indignation there. 'How! *cried the soldiers*, shall this 'monopolist, who cheated us of our spoils, dare to 'threaten us also?' Wherefore, as these reflections were made openly, the Quæstor Sextius, to quell the sedition, believed it necessary to employ the same violent methods as had given occasion for them, and sent a lictor to one of the soldiers, whom he heard exclaiming: but this only served to increase the tumult; and the Quæstor being struck with a stone, was obliged to retire out of the croud; the person who had done it insulting him at the same time, by calling out, *That the Quæstor had got no more than what the general had threatened to give the soldiers.* When Posthumius himself was called to quell the mutiny, he exasperated the troops more than ever by the strictness of his enquiries, and the cruelty of his punishments. At last, when he set no bounds to his fury, the cries of those whom he had condemned to be drowned under an hurdle, having drawn together a number of the soldiers, and raised a tumult, he burst like a fury from his tribunal, and thrust among the croud, who were endeavouring to prevent the execution of his sentence. The lictors and centurions, in clearing the way, dealt about them too roughly among the croud, which exasperated them to that extraordinary degree, that the military tribune was stoned to death by his own army.

When the news of this tragical event reached the city, and the military tribunes, with the concurrence of the senate, decreed that a precognition should be taken, relative

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to the murder of their colleague, the tribunes of the people interposed. This contest depended upon another. The conscript fathers were in the utmost concern, lest the people, for fear of the intended enquiry, should, in the heat of their passion, create military tribunes out of their own order; for which reason they exerted themselves to the utmost to get consuls elected. But the tribunes of the people would suffer no act to be passed by the senate, nor a comitia to be held for the election of consuls, so that the Republic fell into an inter-regnum. The fathers afterwards prevailed.

CHAP. LI.

The Trial of the mutinous Soldiers. Contests between the Orders.

Q. FABIUS VIBULANUS, being declared inter-rex, held the comitia; when A. Cornelius Cossus, and L. Furius Medulinus were created consuls. In the beginning of their administration, the senate enacted, that the tribunes should, without loss of time, lay the affair of the enquiry into the murder of Posthumius, before the assembly of the people; and that it should be left to the people to appoint whom they pleased to preside in that enquiry. The commons, with the concurrence of the whole body of the people, committed the charge of this matter to the two consuls. They executed their commission with great lenity and moderation; and the few examples that were made, are generally believed to have prevented the execution of their sentence by a voluntary death. Yet all these precautions did not stop the mouths of the people, who complained bitterly, that the bills which were brought in for their account, were suffered to ly on the table, neglected and protracted for so many years, whilst one for shedding their blood, and bringing them to punishment, was put in execution directly, and with rigour. Now was the time, after the punishment of the seditious soldiers, for soothing the minds of the people, by a distribution of the lands of Volæ. The senators, in that case, would have diminished the ardour of the people, in pushing the

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Agrarian law, which was calculated to dispossess the Patricians of the property of the public they had unjustly usurped. The people, at that time, were much exasperated with this provoking consideration, that the nobility not only persisted obstinately in retaining the public lands, of which they were violent possessors, but also prevented the distribution of those lately taken from the enemy, now vacant, which would also soon become the prey of a few Patricians, as the rest had done before.

The same year, the consul Furius, led the legions against the Volsci, who were ravaging the territory of the Hernici; but the enemy having disappeared, he took Ferentinum*, whither a great number of them had retired. The booty there came short of their expectation; the Volsci, when they began to despair of making a proper defence, had packed up their effects, in the night time, and departed the city. The next day it was taken; but it was almost desolate. Of its territory, the consul made a present to the Hernici.

CHAP. LII.

An Epidemical Distemper and a Famine. A. R. 341.

THE moderation of the tribunes rendered this year pretty peaceable. But L. Icilius, one of the tribunes of the people, immediately upon the accession of Q. Fabius Ambustus, and C. Furius Paulus to the consular fasces, as if it had been hereditary in his name and family, endeavoured to raise a sedition, by reviving the plea of the Agrarian laws. A plague, however, which broke out at that time, and gave more alarm than it proved destructive, diverted the people's attention from the forum, and political disputes, to look after their families, and take care of their health. It is thought that the effects of the plague were less fatal, than those of the sedition would have been. The city was all over oppressed with sickness, though no great mortality ensued; but the neglect of agriculture, whilst the calamity prevailed: as it generally happens, the next year,

* A town which belonged originally to the Volsci, now Fiorentino, situated in the Campagnea di Roma, 48 miles from Rome.

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when M. Papirius Attratinus, and C. Nautius Rutilus were conſuls, produced a ſcarcity. This would have done much more miſchief than the plague, if they had not found relief from their agents, whom they ſent through all the nations, upon the coaſt of the Tuſcan ſea, and the banks of the Tiber, to purchaſe corn.

The Samnites, who were then in poſſeſſion of Capua and Cumæ, behaved inſolently to the commiſſaries, and prohibited them from buying, whereas they were liberally ſupplied by the tyrants of Sicily. The Etrurians, with the utmoſt diſpatch, ſent great quantities of grain down the Tiber. While the ſickneſs prevailed in the city, the conſuls had a demonſtration of the deſolate ſtate of the city; for they could not find above one ſenator, for every particular embaſſy, for which reaſon, they were obliged to aſſociate two knights with each of them. Excepting the effects of the plague and the famine, for two ſucceſſive years, the Romans had nothing to trouble them at home or abroad. But, the moment they had got over theſe difficulties, all the miſeries which had been the uſual attendants, on civil diſſentions and foreign war, attacked them at once.

CHAP. LIII.

Oppoſition of the College to Mænius. Valerius humbles the Æqui, but unpopular in the army.

THE former conſuls were ſucceeded by Mamercus Æmilius, and C. Valerius Potitus, in whoſe conſulate, the Æqui renewed their preparations for war; and although the Volſci did not take up arms by public authority, they joined the Æqui as Volunteers, and ſerved for pay. Upon advice of the progreſs of theſe enemies, who by this time had entered the frontiers of the Latins and Hernici, the conſul Valerius began to make the levies for raiſing an army: but M. Mænius, one of thoſe tribunes, who had propoſed the Agrarian law, oppoſed him; and while the commons were ſupported by this tribune, none of them could be compelled to take the military oath.

During this conteſt, they were ſurpriſed with the ac-

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counts that the fortreſs of Carventum, was in the hands of the enemy. As this diſgrace expoſed Mænius to the odium of the ſenators, it furniſhed to the other tribunes, a noble pretext for oppoſing their colleague, being previouſly determined to declare againſt the Agrarian law. Wherefore, after long altercations on both ſides, the conſuls called Gods and men to witneſs, that whatever damage or diſgrace the enemy had or would bring upon them, it was all chargeable upon Mænius, who had obſtructed the levies. Mænius, on the other hand exclaimed, that if the violent poſſeſſors of the property of the public, would give up what they held by ſo unjuſt a tenure, he would obſtruct the levies no longer. The other nine tribunes, put an end to the diſpute, and declared it was the opinion of their college; 'That in oppoſition to their colleague, Mænius, they ſhould ſupport the conſul Valerius, in impoſing fines, or inflicting other puniſhments on thoſe who refuſed to enliſt for the war.' The conſul, now armed with this decree, having ſeized and impriſoned ſome of them who had appealed to the tribunes for aſſiſtance, the reſt were afraid and took the military oath.

However much the conſul hated the army, and the army him, the moment they appeared before the fortreſs of Carventum, they diſcovered the greateſt ardour in diſlodging the garriſon and recovering the fort. The negligence of ſuch of the garriſon, as had gone to plunder in the neighbourhood, gave them a favourable opportunity for the aſſault. The booty was conſiderable, as it contained the magazine of all their prædatory acquiſitions round the country. The conſul ordered the quæſtors to ſell the whole at vendue, and put the price in the public treaſury, telling the ſoldiers, they ſhould ſhare in the ſpoil, when they ſhowed leſs reluctance to the war. This increaſed the reſentment of the people, as well as the ſoldiers againſt the conſul; inſomuch, that when, by order of the ſenate, he entered the city with an ovation, the ſoldiers, in their licentious manner, repeated alternately a rough kind of verſes, expreſſive of reproaches to the conſul, and high encomiums on the name of Mænius. The people who lined the way to ſee the proceſſion, rivalled the ſoldiers, in expreſſing

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their regard to Mænius, by loud acclamations and applauſes, as oft as they heard his name. The ſenators were more uneaſy on this account, than at the freedom the ſoldiers were taking with the conſul, as it was no uncommon thing, on ſuch occaſions; and concluding from this, that Mænius would certainly be advanced to the military tribuneſhip, ſhould he appear as a candidate: they took care to exclude him, by appointing the Comitia to be held for electing conſuls.

CHAP. LIV.

Three Plebeian Quæſtors choſen.

THE conſuls elected upon this occaſion were Cn. Cornelius Coſſus, and L. Furius Medullinus, for the ſecond time. At no time were the people more highly provoked than at this, when they were not permitted to chuſe military tribunes. But they both conſoled and avenged themſelves on that account, in the election of quæſtors. This was the firſt time that Plebeians were admitted to the quæſtorſhip; and of four places, there was only one reſerved for Cæſo Fabius Ambuſtus, a Patrician, Q. Silius, P. Ælius, and P. Pupius, were preferred to the ſons of the firſt families in Rome. I find, that three of the Icilian family, who had been choſen tribunes that year, and noted for the inveteracy of their family againſt the Patricians, were the principal inſtigators of the people to aſſume this freedom in giving their ſuffrages, promiſing them innumerable advantages, of which they were exceſſively fond; but declaring, at the ſame time, that they would not move a ſtep towards the execution of them, if at the Comitia for electing quæſtors, the only officers whom the ſenate had left them at liberty to chuſe indiſcriminately out of either order, they had not reſolution enough to effectuate what they had ſo long inclined, and what the laws left them at liberty to do. The people conſidered this as a very great victory; for they did not eſtimate the quæſtorſhip from the intrinſic privileges of the office, but as it opened a door by which men of low birth might enter to the conſulſhip and to triumphs.

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which they reduced, and by ravaging the territories of the Æqui and Volſci, made a conſiderable booty.

CHAP. LVI.

The Conſuls offended with the Senate, for propoſing a Dictator. The Tribunes refuſe to interſere.

AS the commons had prevailed in the firſt inſtance in obtaining the Comitia they had inſiſted on, ſo in the event of the Comitia, the ſenate prevailed in their turn. For, contrary to all expectation, three Patricians, C. Julius Julus, Publius Cornelius Coſſus, and C. Servilius Ahala, were elected military tribunes with conſular power. It is ſaid, that the Patricians had recourſe to a ſtratagem, with which the Icilii reproached them at that very time, in ſetting up a number of low fellows to appear as candidates with men of the firſt merit; and that the people aſhamed of the tattered appearance made by ſome of them, rejected the Plebeian candidates altogether. Whether it was, that the hopes of the Æqui and Volſci were revived from the circumſtance of their having been able to defend the fortreſs of Carventum, or if their reſentment was raiſed, by the loſs of the garriſon at Verrugo; advices were brought, that they were making extraordinary preparations for war, and that the Antiates were at the head of the confederacy, who had ambaſſadors making the circuit of their different courts, remonſtrating againſt them as a body of poltroons, who, whilſt they were ſkulking within their walls, ſuffered the Romans, the year before, to ravage their country at pleaſure, and cut in pieces the garriſon of Verrugo. That hoſtile armies were not only ſent againſt them, but colonies planted in their country; and, that the Romans not content with a dividend of their ſubject among themſelves, had taken Ferentinum from them, and given it in a preſent to the Hernici.

The reſentment of the people being, by theſe reproaches, ſcrewed up to the higheſt pitch, where-ever they went, the youth were very forward to enliſt. Wherefore the youth of all the confederate nations having rendezvouſed at Antium, there they encamped and

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waited for the enemy. When advices of these motions were carried to Rome, and greatly exaggerated in the relation, the senate, as the last resource in cases of imminent danger, immediately ordered a dictator to be named; a circumstance, which, it is said, greatly offended Julius and Cornelius, and produced very warm disputes with the senate: and when the principal of that order complained that the military tribunes refused to subject themselves to the authority of the senate, and at last had recourse to the tribunes of the people, alledging they had precedents, where, in similar cases, consuls had been over-ruled by the authority of the tribunes. The tribunes, far from being dissatisfied with this misunderstanding among the fathers, told them that it was ridiculous to expect any assistance from them, whom they did not respect as citizens, nor regard as men. That if ever the honours and government of the state should be common to both orders, they should soon be convinced, that the decrees of the senate should not become void through the insolence of any magistrate whatever. In the mean time, the Patricians who seemed amenable to neither laws, nor magistrates, might exercise the authority of tribunes for themselves.

CHAP. LVII.

A Dictator created, who dispells the storm at Antium.

THIS dispute had engrossed the public attention at a most unseasonable conjuncture, when they had so great a war upon their hands, whilst Julius and Cornelius had long held forth, in alternate harangues, the injustice of wresting from them the honours the people had bestowed on them, as they were sufficiently qualified themselves for doing their duty as generals, and conducting the war; when Ahala Servilius rose up and represented, 'That he had long been silent, not because 'he was at a loss how to act; as the interests of a good 'citizen were never separated from those of the public, 'but because he would have wished that his colleagues 'had voluntarily submitted to the authority of the se-

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'nate, rather than to have suffered them to apply to 'the power of the tribunes to compell them. That 'even then, did the situation of affairs permit, he would 'most cheerfully give them time, to recede from a re- 'solution in which they had discovered too much obsti- 'nacy; but as the dangers of war were too importunate 'to admit of delay, he would prefer the interest of the 'state to the favour of his colleagues; and if the senate 'persisted in their resolution, he would name a dictator 'that very night; and if any should oppose the senate's 'decree, he would consider their authority as sufficient 'for his purpose.' When by this declaration, he had gained the just applause and favour of all ranks, he named P. Cornelius dictator, by whom he was also declared general of the horse, which may convince any one who will compare his conduct with that of his colleagues, that those who do not court respect and honour, are sometimes in the way to both.

The war was not considerable. For the enemy was routed at Antium in one engagement, and that a very slight one. The victorious army laid waste the country of the Volsci, and took a fort upon the lake Fucinus, where they made three thousand prisoners; the rest of the Volsci being obliged to take refuge within their walled towns, and leave their country to be ravaged by the enemy.

The dictator having finished this war in such a manner, as made it appear that he had neglected no opportunity fortune put in his way, he returned to Rome with more success than glory, and resigned his office. The military tribunes, without the least mention of a consular comitia, very probably out of resentment, because a dictator had been created, proclaimed the assemblies for the election of military tribunes. The fathers were the more sensibly piqued at this proceeding, as they saw themselves betrayed by their own party. Wherefore as they had, the preceding year, created a disgust among the Plebeians at the better sort of their order, by setting up for candidates mere tatter-demalions, so now, having prevailed with those of the Patricians, who were most eminent for their popularity and lustre of their families, to appear as candidates, they secured all the places, and

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gave not the leaſt chance to a Plebeian. There were four elected, who had all filled that office before, L. Furius Medullinus, C. Valerius Potitus, Numerius Fabius Vibulanus, and C. Servilius Ahala. The laſt was rewarded by being continued in his office, both in regard of his other virtues, and the favour he had lately acquired by his ſingular moderation.

CHAP. LVIII.

The People refuſe their aſſent to a war with the Vejentes.

THAT year, the truce with the Vejentes being expired, heralds and commiſſioners were diſpatched to demand ſatisfaction for injuries ſuſtained. Theſe heralds were met on the way, as they were approaching the marches, by an embaſſy from Veii. The embaſſy requeſted that they would proceed no further, till they had an audience from the ſenate of Rome. The miniſters of the Vejentes obtained from the ſenate, that ſince their ſtate laboured under all the calamities of civil diſſenſions, that ſatisfaction ſhould be demanded of them. So far were they from taking advantage of the miſfortunes of others, to promote their own intereſt.

At this time the Romans met with a diſaſter in the country of the Volſci, in the loſs of their garriſon at Verrugo, where a little time was of ſuch conſequence, that the garriſon who were beſieged by the Volſci, and had implored aſſiſtance, might have been relieved, had they been reinforced in time. The army ſent for this purpoſe came only in time to retaliate on the enemy, juſt as they had put the Roman garriſon to the ſword, and diſperſed themſelves with a deſign to plunder. The ſenate was more to blame in not haſtening the troops, than the tribunes, becauſe they were told that the garriſon made a vigorous defence; never reflecting, that no courage whatever, can exceed the bounds of human force. Theſe brave fellows ſold their lives dear; and after their fall were ſeverely revenged.

The following year had for military tribunes, the two Cornelii Coſſi, P. and Cn. Numerius, Fabius Am-

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buſtus, and L. Valerius Potitus, when a motion was made to chaſtiſe the Vejentes for the inſolence of their ſenate, in ordering the Roman ambaſſadors to be told, when they were demanding reſtitution, that if they did not immediately leave the city and dominions of Veii, they would treat them as Lars Tolumnius had treated the Roman ambaſſadors on a former occaſion.

The fathers could not put up with ſo daring an inſult, and therefore decreed that the tribunes ſhould forthwith lay before the people a motion for declaring war againſt the Vejentes. The moment this motion was mentioned in the aſſembly, the youth began to murmur, inſiſting, 'That the war with the Volſci was not finiſh-'ed; that it was but lately that two garriſons had been 'put to the ſword, and though they had been ſince re-'covered, were not ſupported without danger: not a 'year paſſes without a battle; and yet as if they had 'not toil enough, we muſt begin a new war againſt 'powerful neighbours, who may engage all Etruria in 'their cauſe.'

Thus they talked of their own accord, and the tribunes did not fail to encourage them in their oppoſition, by repreſenting, 'That the chief war they had to ſuſtain 'was which the ſenate carried on againſt the commons. 'That they were ſent into the field only to be ſlaugh-'tered, or to be kept at a diſtance, and in a manner 'baniſhed from the city, that they might not, were 'they allowed repoſe at home, turn their minds upon 'liberty and colonies, or concerting meaſures for expe-'diting the Agrarian law, and voting with freedom in 'their aſſemblies." Then taking the veterans by the hand, counted the years they ſerved, examined their wounds and ſcars, aſking them whether they had yet any room for more wounds, or any more blood to ſpare to the Republic? By theſe arguments, which they took every opportunity to enlarge upon in private converſations and public aſſemblies, they prepoſſeſſed the people againſt the war, ſo that the bill was deferred to a future day; becauſe it appeared plain, had it been propoſed under ſo many prejudices, it muſt have been rejected.

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CHAP. LIX.

Anxur taken and plundered by the Soldiers, who are appointed pay by a decree of the Senate.

IN the mean time, the military tribunes reſolved to lead an army againſt the Volſci. Only Cn. Cornelius was left at Rome. The other three, finding that the Volſci had not encamped, and did not ſeem as if they would hazard a battle, divided their forces into three bodies, and laid waſte the country on different ſides. Valerius marched to Antium, and Cornelius to Ecetræ, pillaging the houſes and country all the way, to amuſe the Volſci. But Fabius, without ſtopping to plunder, marched directly to lay ſiege to Anxur, the principal object of the expedition. This was that Anxur, which was afterwards called Terracina. It was ſituated above a marſh, whence Fabius made a feint of carrying on his attack. Four cohorts were ſent round under the command of C. Servilius Ahala, to take poſſeſſion of an eminence which overlooked the city: From this eminence, where the town was not defended, they made an attack upon the walls, with a prodigious clamour and noiſe, which quite confounded thoſe who defended the lower part of the city againſt Fabius, and gave him an opportunity unobſerved to prepare for a ſcalade. In a moment every corner was crouded with enemies; and for ſometime upon the walls, there was a great ſlaughter among thoſe who fled, as well as thoſe who fought, and among the armed and unarmed, without diſtinction. Wherefore, the conquered having no hopes of quarter, even ſhould they ſurrender, were driven by neceſſity to renew the fight, when all of a ſudden it was publiſhed aloud, that none but ſuch as were found in arms, had any thing to fear, which determined the whole multitude to lay down their arms, and ſurrender at diſcretion.

Two thouſand five hundred were made priſoners; but the reſt of the booty Fabius would not ſuffer to be touched, till his colleagues ſhould come up, repreſenting

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to his army, that they alſo had contributed their ſhare in the taking of Anxur, in ſo far as they had prevented the other cities from coming to its relief. When they arrived, the three armies plundered the city together, which, by a long train of proſperity, had now become opulent. This liberality of the generals, began a reconciliation between the people and the Patricians; but what completed it, was a decree of the ſenate, very ſeaſonably obtained by means of the whole Patricians, without ſo much as a hint from the people or their tribunes, ordaining the ſoldiers to be paid out of the treaſury, whereas before they had ſerved the ſtate at their own expence.

CHAP. LX.

Joy of the People on this occaſion. Envy of the Tribunes.

NO circumſtance, we are told, ever gave the people a more ſenſible pleaſure, than the news of this decree of the ſenate. They ran in crouds from all quarters to the ſenate-houſe, and taking the ſenators by the hand as they came out, called them fathers, in every ſenſe of the word: declaring, at the ſame time, that after ſuch an inſtance of goodneſs, there was not a ſingle citizen, who to the laſt moment of his life, would not be ready to expoſe himſelf to every danger, for ſo generous and beneficent a country. The people's ſatisfaction in this decree, did not only ariſe from the advantage it promiſed them, in having their eſtates liable to no expence, whilſt they were perſonally engaged in the ſervice of the public, but alſo becauſe it was a voluntary deed of the ſenate, neither thought of by their tribunes, nor ſuch a demand even ſurmiſed by themſelves. It was this conſideration which augmented their joy, and enhanced the value of the favour.

The tribunes of the people, were the only perſons who had no ſhare in the general joy and harmony that reigned all over the city on this occaſion. 'They inſiſted, that this was a ſtroke in politics, which would not 'be agreeable to all the fathers, nor would they find

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'their account in it, so much as they imagined. That 'at first sight, it had a specious appearance, but expe- 'rience would show it in a different point of view. For, 'how could the money be raised, but by imposing a tax 'upon individuals? It was plain, therefore, that the 'senate was liberal at the expense of others. That 'though others might wink at this innovation, those 'who had already served out their time, would never 'consent, that the condition of their successors, should 'be better than theirs had been; or, that they who had 'already served their country at their own charge, 'should be saddled with a tax for the support of others.' Such speeches left an impression with some, and the tribunes proclaimed, that they were ready to assist all those who were disposed to stand out against the tax for the pay of the soldiers.

The fathers, however, were determined to persevere in supporting so laudable an undertaking, and were the first to pay in their contributions: and because they had as yet no silver coin, some sent carriages loaded with brass to the treasury, which gave their contingents a magnificent appearance. When the senators had paid in their respective quotas, with the utmost impartiality, agreeable to their valuations, the principal Plebeians, who were in friendship with the nobility, as had been concerted, began to pay in their assessments and when the lower Plebeians observed how much they were commended by the senators, and respected as good citizens by the soldiers, all at once despising the assistance of the tribunes, he was the best man who paid first. The bill was now passed for declaring war against the Vejentes; and the new military tribunes led an army against Veii, the greatest part of which consisted of volunteers.

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CHAP. LXI.

Artena taken, the Fort having been betrayed by a Slave.

THE military tribunes this year, were T. Quinctius Capitolinus, P. Quinctius Cincinnatus, C. Julius Julus, a second time, A. Manlius, L. Furius Medullinus, a second time, and Manius Æmilius Mamercinus, who first invested Veii. About the commencement of this siege, the states of Etruria held a general council at the temple of Voltumna, to consider whether they should make the siege of Veii a common cause, but it does not appear that they came to any resolution. The siege, in the year following, was carried on with still less vigour, than at first, part of the tribunes and the armies they commanded, having been called off to a war with the Volsci.

C. Valerius Potitus, for the third time, Manius Sergius Fidenas, P. Cornelius Maluginensis, Cn. Cornelius Cossus, Cæso Fabius Ambustus, and Sp. Nautius Rutilus, a second time, were elected military tribunes with consular power for this year. The Volsci gave them an opportunity of coming to an action with them, between Ferentinum and Ecetra, in which the Romans had the advantage; after which, the military tribunes formed the siege of Artena, a town belonging to the Volsci, where the besieged having attempted a sally, were driven back to the city, with such precipitation, that the Romans had an opportunity of entering with them pell mell, and of taking every thing but the castle, into which, as it was naturally strong, a body of armed men had thrown themselves. Under this fortress many were put to the sword, and many fell into the hands of the victors. The fort itself was then besieged: but to storm it would have been impracticable, being, for the extent of the place, sufficiently defended, and there could be no hopes of a surrender, as all the corn in the public magazines, had been conveyed thither, before the town was taken; so that at last, the Romans must have been so tired out as to have raised the siege, had not a slave betrayed the fort into their hands. The soldiers having

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been admitted by his means, through a very intricate paſſage took the place, and having put the guards to the ſword, the reſt of the garriſon were all at once ſo ſtruck with terror, that they immediately ſurrendered at diſcretion. The city and citadel were both demoliſhed, and the legions withdrawn from the Volſcian territory, to puſh on the ſiege of Veii, with all the force the Romans could muſter.

The ſlave, beſides his liberty, had the effects of two families aſſigned him, as the reward of his treaſon. He was called the Roman Servius. Some think, that this Artena, belonged to the Vejentes, and not the Volſci. A city of the ſame name, ſituated between Cære and Veii, leads them into this miſtake; but this Artena was deſtroyed by the Roman kings, and beſides, was not the property of the Vejentes, but of the Cæretes. This other Artena, the deſtruction whereof, hath been juſt now deſcribed, lay in the territory of the Volſci.

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When the noiſe of this reſolution reached Rome, the tribunes, who had been long at a loſs for materials to raiſe a combuſtion, immediately repaired to the aſſembly, with a view to exaſperate the people; repreſenting, 'That they might now ſee pretty plainly, what were 'the views in the pay granted to the ſoldiers; that 'they had not been deceived, when they aſſerted, that 'with this inſtance of generoſity from their enemies, 'was conveyed a ſecret poiſon.—That they had received 'it in exchange for their liberty.—That the youth were 'removed and baniſhed from the city and public affairs 'for good and all; and without regard to the rigour of 'the ſeaſon, were to be kept in the field all the winter, 'without the liberty of viſiting their families, or looking 'into their own affairs. And after all, what reaſon 'can be aſſigned for continuing the campaign? Why, 'that the youth in whom the ſtrength of the people 'conſiſts, may be prevented from doing any thing in 'full aſſemblies, for their common intereſt. That be-'ſides, they were ſubjected to much more fatigue, and 'had greater hardſhips to encounter, than the Vejentes, 'who, whilſt they defended their town, which was 'ſecured by excellent walls, and the natural ſtrength 'of its ſituation, paſſed the winter in their own houſes: 'whereas, the Roman ſoldiers, amidſt toil and hard-'ſhips, were expoſed to froſt and ſnow, were obliged 'to lie in tents, without laying aſide their arms, even 'during the winter, a ſeaſon of reſt and reſpite from 'war, all the world over. A yoke of ſervitude, which 'neither the kings, nor before the exiſtence of tribuni-'tian power, the conſuls, haughty as they were, nor 'the deſpotiſm of a dictator, nor even the cruelty of 'the decemvirs had ever impoſed, which the military 'tribunes now exerciſe without mercy over the commons 'of Rome, in obliging them to ſerve in the field, the 'whole year round. What then would they do, were 'they conſuls, or dictators, who being only inveſted 'with the ſhadow of conſular dignity, lord it with ſuch 'tyrannical rigour? But even in this circumſtance, 'there is hardly any room for complaint; among eight 'military tribunes, there was not a place for a ſingle 'Plebeian. That formerly the Patricians, without a

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very hard ſtruggle, could not fill up three of theſe places; but now eight at a time jump at once into power, and yet among all that number, a ſingle Plebeian could not be ſmuggled in, who, if good for nothing elſe, might have put his colleagues in mind, that the ſoldiers were not ſlaves, but freemen and fellow-citizens, who ought at leaſt, during the winter, to be permitted to return to their houſes and families; in order, that once in the year, they might ſee their fathers, wives, and children, enjoy their liberty, and give their voice in the election of magiſtrates.'

Whilſt the tribunes were exclaiming in this manner, they found an antagoniſt in Appius Claudius, who had been left by his colleagues, for the purpoſe of oppoſing the ſeditious attempts of the tribunes, being highly qualified for the taſk: for, from his youth he had been trained to contend with the Plebeians, and had adviſed, ſome years before this, as we had occaſion to obſerve, to blunt the edge of tribunitian power, by oppoſing it to itſelf.

CHAP. III.

Appius enters the liſt with the Tribunes.

APPIUS, who was remarkable for quickneſs of conception, which too was greatly improved by his practice, ſpoke to the following effect. 'If ever, gentlemen, there was a doubt, whether it was to promote your intereſt, or their own, that your tribunes are ſtill on the watch to raiſe ſeditions in the ſtate, I am certain this year muſt have cleared up every difficulty on that ſcore. And whilſt I rejoice, that there is now an end of the wild tedious gooſe-chaſe they have led you, I congratulate you, and the republic on your account, that your proſperity hath, in a very peculiar manner, contributed to open your eyes. Is it not evident to all the world, that your tribunes were never ſo ſenſibly touched with any injuries you ever received, if indeed you ever received any, as with the generoſity of the ſenate to the people, in appointing them pay,

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'whilſt employed in the ſervice of the republic? What 'elſe, do you imagine, could have alarmed them at 'that time, or what is it they would wiſh to diſturb 'now, but all union between the two orders of the 'ſtate, as being entirely repugnant to their ſeditious 'views? Like raſkally quack doctors, by Hercules, 'they hatch employment for themſelves. Their deſire 'was to ſee ſome diſeaſe conſtantly prevailing in the 'ſtate, that you might always have recourſe to them 'for a cure? But, tribunes, whether do you profeſs 'to be the people's protectors, or their enemies? Are 'you advocates for, or againſt the ſoldiers? Perhaps 'you will tell me, that every act of the ſenators, whe-'ther for, or againſt the intereſt of the commons, you 'are determined to diſlike: and as maſters did not ſuffer 'their ſlaves to have any intercourſe with their neigh-'bours, that they might neither be well or ill uſed by 'them, ſo you will not ſuffer the commons to have any 'intercourſe with the nobles, leſt by our complaiſance 'and generoſity, we ſhould ſecure their attachment, 'and leſt they, on the other hand ſhould ſhow their 'regard, in their obedience to our orders. How much 'more then ſhould it be your ſtudy, ſuppoſe you had 'no regard for the ſtate, if you had but the leaſt ſpark 'of humanity remaining, to uſe your utmoſt endea-'vours, to promote this reciprocal complaiſance and 'compliance between the ſenate and people? For, 'ſhould this harmony be permanent, who would not 'venture to promiſe, that this our empire would ſoon 'be the moſt reſpectable of all around us?

CHAP. IV. *Appius in continuation.*

'IN the ſequel of my diſcourſe, I ſhall ſhow how much 'the reſolution of my colleagues, not to withdraw 'the troops, from before Veii, till it is taken, is not only 'expedient, but neceſſary: at preſent, only permit me to 'ſpeak, with regard to the condition of the troops there. 'And I am convinced, were I to ſpeak, not only to 'you, but in the camp, where the ſoldiers themſelves 'would be my judges, I ſhould infallibly have their 'approbation. For, were my own ingenuity to furniſh

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'me with nothing new to advance in this affair, I 'ſhould think myſelf at no loſs, when I can confute my 'opponents from what they themſelves have advanced. 'It was but lately that they inſiſted, that the ſoldiers 'ought to have no pay now, becauſe they had none 'before. How then can they be offended now, when 'thoſe who have got an extraordinary emolument, are 'taxed with an adequate ſervice? There will be no 'great exertions with a view of returns, nor much profit 'without a great deal of pains. Pain and pleaſure, 'however contrary in their nature, ſeem to have an in-'timate connexion with each other. The ſoldier, in for-'mer times, grudged exceſſively to ſerve the public at 'his own charge, whilſt, with pleaſure, he employed a 'part of the year in cultivating his farm, to get a ſub-'ſiſtence for his family at home, and for himſelf when 'he took the field. He is now happy in the reflection, 'that the public muſt ſupport him, and receives his 'pay with pleaſure. As he is at no great expence, he 'can bear with patience to be kept a little longer from 'his family, and family affairs. Beſides, were the re-'public to reckon with him, it might juſtly be urged, 'you are paid for a year's ſervice, why would you 'ſcruple to ſerve out your year? Do you think it would 'be reaſonable to exact full pay for half ſervice? It is 'with reluctance, gentlemen, that I touch upon theſe 'things. Theſe are arguments, proper only to be uſed 'with mercenary troops. With you, we would wiſh 'to act as with fellow-citizens, and think it but reaſon-'able you act with us, as with your native country. 'Either we ſhould not have undertaken this war, or we 'ſhould certainly ſupport it in a manner worthy the 'Roman people, and bring it to a concluſion, as quickly 'as poſſible. This we can accompliſh, if we preſs the 'beſieged with vigour, and not quit the ſiege, till we 'have crowned our hopes, by making ourſelves maſters 'of the city. If we had no other motive for our per-'ſeverance, by Hercules, the ſhame of raiſing the block-'ade, ought to be more than ſufficient. For the ſake 'of one woman, a city, in former times, was beſieged 'for the ſpace of ten years, by the united power of

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'Greece: and pray, how far were they from home? 'What countries, what seas intervened? Shall we 'then scruple to carry on a siege for twelve months, 'within twenty miles; nay, almost within sight of 'Rome? It cannot be alledged, that the cause of the 'war is a trifling affair, or that we had not sufficient 'provocation to persist in the prosecution of it. Seven 'times have they renewed hostilities. In time of peace 'they never kept their faith. A thousand times have 'they ravaged our lands: at their instigation, the Fi-'denates revolted: they butchered the colonies we had 'planted at Fidenæ: it was they who, contrary to the 'law of nations, caused our ambassadors to be assassi-'nated. They have endeavoured to arm all Etruria 'against us, nor have they yet given over their intrigues. 'Nay, they were within an ace of offering violence to 'our ambassadors, when they were demanding satis-'faction for damages sustained.

CHAP. V. *Appius in continuation.*

'ARE these the enemies we should treat with le-'nity? have they any title to be indulged with a 'respite? But, suppose all these motives, forcible as 'they are, were to go for nothing, will not these which 'follow, have some weight with you? Their city is 'surrounded with considerable works, which keep them 'shut up within their walls. Their lands either ly 'without cultivation, or totally ruined by the war. 'Were we to take off our army, the consequence is evi-'dent; prompted by a desire of revenge, and still more 'by necessity, which the losses they have sustained lay 'them under to plunder, will they not immediately re-'taliate upon us? Were we to listen to your tribunes, 'we would not remove the war, but draw it home into 'our own country. And! after all, what are these 'peculiar advantages, which these good tribunes would 'substitute, in place of pay to the soldiers, of which 'they would wish to deprive them? The soldiers with 'immense labour, have drawn a ditch and rampart 'through a large tract of ground. On these, at first, 'they only raised a few forts, but since the army has

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'been reinforced, they have multiplied them prodi-
'giouſly. They have erected redoubts, not only againſt
'the town, but againſt Etruria alſo, to prevent the
'aids which might be ſent from thence. Why need I
'mention towers *, galleries †, mantalets ‡, and all
'the other engines uſed in ſieges? After we have be-
'ſtowed ſo much labour, and brought our works to ſuch
'perfection; ſay, do you think it would be prudent to
'abandon them now, that we may go the ſame round
'of ſweat and labour to replace them at the opening of
'the ſummer campaign? Is it not much more eaſy to
'defend the works already conſtructed, to puſh on the
'ſiege with vigour and firmneſs, till we accompliſh our
'deſigns? It cannot be a matter of long ſtanding, if
'we go on without interruption, and do not ourſelves
'fruſtrate our hopes, by our own delays and remiſsneſs.
'I only ſpeak of the labour we muſt undergo and the
'time we muſt loſe. But this is not all. By protracting
'the war, we expoſe ourſelves to a much greater dan-
'ger. Do we ſit down without the leaſt concern, whilſt
'the ſtates of Etruria meet ſo frequently, to deliberate
'on ſending aid to Veii? As matters now ſtand, they
'are diſguſted with the Vejentes, they hate them, and
'will not interpoſe for their relief. Nay, for them, we
'may take Veii when we can; but, who can divine, if
'we intermit our operations, that they will be of the
'ſame mind ſome time hence? Only give them a little
'reſpite, and you will ſee how their embaſſies will be
'reiterated and redoubled. The circumſtance of eſta-
'bliſhing monarchy at Veii, which alone gives umbrage
'to the Etrurians, may change in an inſtant, either by

* They were made of wood, to move on four, or more wheels, placed within them ſo as not to be ſeen. They conſiſted of ten or more ſtories, as occaſion required, and cloſely floored. They contained the crans, ſcaling-ladders, *&c.* and brought them up to the walls.

† Theſe were made of rafters, and were eight feet high, ſeven broad, and ſixteen long. They were roofed with planks and hurdles; their ſides were wickered with twigs, and covered with raw hides. They moved on ſecret wheels, like the towers.

‡ They moved alſo on ſecret wheels, but their roofs and fronts were ſloped, they were uſed in digging or filling up trenches, levelling and bringing up the battering rams to the walls.

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'the general conſent of the ſtate, to reinſtate them into 'favour with the Etrurians, or by a voluntary reſigna- 'tion in the king himſelf, who may not be willing that 'his ſovereignty ſhould interfere with the good of his 'country. Only conſider ſeriouſly, the train of evils 'that muſt be conſequent on the meaſures preſcribed 'by your tribunes. The loſs of works conſtructed with 'ſo much labour, the impending devaſtation of our 'country, and all Etruria about our ears, in place of 'the ſingle ſtate of Veii. Theſe tribunes, are your 'wiſe maxims, very like the preſcriptions of an empiric, 'by Jove, who by adminiſtring palatable meat and 'drink to his patient, lengthens out the diſeaſe, and 'perhaps renders it incurable, whereas by the applica- 'tion of ſtronger medicines, he might have quickly re- 'covered.

CHAP. VI. *Appius in Continuation.*

'SUPPOSE a winter campaign were not eſſential 'indeed to the ſucceſs of the preſent war, it muſt 'certainly be of the higheſt importance with reſpect to 'military diſcipline, to accuſtom the ſoldiers, not only 'to enjoy the victories they acquire; but alſo, when 'obſtacles come in the way, not to be overcome by their 'continuance, but wait the iſſue of their hopes, though 'it may be deferred beyond their expectation; to con- 'tinue the war during the winter, if it cannot be ended 'in ſummer, and not like birds of paſſage, look round 'for houſes and a ſafe retreat, as ſoon as autumn comes 'on. Shall keenneſs for ſport, and the pleaſure of 'hunting, pray, draw men over mountains and through 'foreſts, amidſt froſt and ſnow; and ſhall we not ſhew 'the ſame patience in a neceſſary war, that we chuſe 'to diſcover in our ſport and parties of pleaſure?— 'Do we believe that our ſoldiers are ſo ſoft and ener- 'vated, either in body or mind, that they cannot ſtand 'a ſingle winter in the camp, nor ſtay ſo long from 'home? Like thoſe who carry on a war by ſea, muſt 'they watch the changes of the weather, and obſerve 'ſeaſons, being incapable of bearing heat or cold? 'Were any one to tell them ſo, they would certainly be

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'put to the bluſh, and anſwer with indignation, that 'they were effeminate neither in mind nor body; and to 'them a winters campaign was no greater hardſhip than 'a ſummers: that they never commiſſioned the tribunes 'to be advocates for their cowardice and effeminacy; 'and that they had forgot, it was not in the ſhade, nor 'under the roof, that their anceſtors eſtabliſhed the 'tribunitian power. Theſe are ſentiments worthy your 'ſoldiers, worthy of the Roman name; not to have a 'view only to the ſiege of Veii, nor the war we are 'carrying on at preſent, but to regard the eſtabliſhment 'of our reputation, for other wars, and other enemies, 'in time to come. Do you think that a judgment will 'not be formed of us from our behaviour on this occa- 'ſion? And that it is a matter of indifference, whether 'the neighbouring nations have reaſon to conclude, 'that if a city can only ſuſtain the firſt ardour of the 'Romans, which is of no long duration, there would 'be nothing more to fear? Will it not eſtabliſh the ter- 'ror of the Roman name, when it is remarked, that 'neither the long continuance of a tedious ſiege, nor 'the rigours of winter can induce a Roman army to 'give up a place they have once inveſted; that they 'have not yet learned to put an end to a war, in any 'other way, than by victory; and that they value 'themſelves as much upon their perſeverance, as their 'impetuoſity in their attacks? Perſeverance is neceſſary 'in every kind of war whatever, but in ſieges, indiſpen- 'ſibly ſo; becauſe moſt cities are rendered impregnable 'by fortifications and their natural ſituation, they re- 'quire time, and to be in want of the neceſſaries of life, 'to compell them to a ſurrender. This will be the caſe 'with Veii, if the tribunes of the people go not over to 'the ſide of the enemy, and give the Vejentes that aſſiſt- 'ance at Rome, which they look for in vain in Etruria. 'Could any thing have happened more to the wiſhes of 'the Vejentes, than to ſee Rome firſt, and then the 'camp, having catched the infection, torn in pieces by 'diviſions? Such, at the ſame time, upon honour, is 'the firmneſs of the Vejentes, that not even the preſſures 'of a long ſiege, nor the burthen of a new king, have 'brought about the leaſt diſturbance among them. The

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'refusal of aid from Etruria has not excited them to 'mutiny. To attempt a sedition there, would be pu-'nished with immediate death: no man dares mutter 'there, what *you* speak out with impunity. Whoever 'deserts his colours, or abandons his post, is sure of the 'bastinado. But here, they who advise, not one or 'two soldiers, but whole armies, to quit their colours, 'and leave the camp in a body, in our assemblies, are 'listened to with attention; nay, whatever a tribune of 'the people is pleased to advance, were it to betray 'your country, and sink the commonwealth, him you 'accustom yourselves to hear with patience. Infatuat-'ed with the charms of the power of your tribunes, you 'suffer the grossest crimes to ly concealed under it. It 'only remains for them to carry the same spirit of re-'volt into the camp, which, they are labouring to fo-'ment in your assemblies, and by their seditious har-'rangues, corrupt the army, and teach them to be dis-'obedient to their officers. For such now is the com-'plexion of liberty at Rome, that to disregard the se-'nate, the magistrates, the laws, the custom of our 'ancestors, the regulations of the fathers, and all mili-'tary discipline whatever, passes for spirit.'

CHAP. VII.

The works of Veii in flames;—repaired by the Romans.—Extraordinary unanimity between the Orders.

APPIUS was already a match for the tribunes in their own assemblies, when the news of a loss at Veii, which nobody could have dreamed, would have produced such an effect, all at once turned the scale entirely in his favour, cemented more strongly the orders of the state, and inspired them with new ardour for pushing the siege with more vigour than ever.

For when they had raised a mount * near the town, and had only to fix the galleries to the walls; as the

* The Agger was made of fascines, stones and earth, composed of balisters crossing each other in form of a *Lettice;* its height was short of the walls, as it had wooden towers upon it, overtopping them.

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Romans were more intent in carrying on their works by day, than guarding them in the night, a port was opened all of a ſudden, whence multitudes ſallied out armed with lighted torches, and ſet fire to the works. In an inſtant, theſe works which had taken ſo long a time in the conſtruction, were all in flames; and numbers, who endeavoured to extinguiſh them, loſt their labour, and their lives into the bargain, either by the fire, or the ſword.

When the news of this diſaſter reached Rome, the feelings of every citizen were diſcernible in their looks, and the ſenate was greatly concerned, from an apprehenſion that it would be impoſſible to prevent a ſedition in the city as well as in the camp, for the tribunes would not fail to crow over the commonwealth, as on a victory obtained. But inſtantly thoſe who, by their valuation, were in the rank of knights, though they had not horſes aſſigned them by the public, having previouſly concerted among themſelves, applied directly to the ſenate; and having obtained an audience, offered to equip themſelves at their own expence, for the public ſervice. For this generous office, the ſenate thanked them in the politeſt terms; and the news being circulated through the forum and the city, brought the people, in a moment, to the ſenate-houſe by the lump; declaring that they were of that order which now ſerved on foot; and though it was out of their turn, that they were ready to ſerve at Veii, or wherever the ſenate ſhould be pleaſed to lead them; at the ſame time, were they led to Veii, they declared that they would not return, before that city was taken.

The joy excited by a propoſal ſo generous, was exceſſive. The people were not ordered the thanks of the houſe to be returned by the magiſtrates, as had been done with reſpect to the knights; nor were any of them called into the ſenate-houſe, to hear their anſwer: The ſenators could not keep within doors; but out they ran, and from an eminence, every one in particular, by his words and geſtures, expreſſed to the multitude that were ſtanding below in the comitium, the general gladneſs and exultation: ſuch unanimity, they cried out, would render Rome happy,—invincible,—eternal. They praiſed the knights, they praiſed the commons; nay, they ex-

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tolled the day,—the glorious day! They acknowledged the ſenate was now out-done in kindneſs and benevolence. The two orders ſeemed to vie with each other in weeping tears of joy, till at length the fathers were called back into their houſe, where they enacted, that 'The military tribunes, ſhould, in an aſſembly of the 'people, return thanks to both horſe and foot, in name 'of the Republic, and aſſure them that the ſenate would 'never forget the regard they had ſhown their country 'on this occaſion: and, moreover, ordered that all the 'volunteers ſhould receive pay, as if they had been le-'vied in form.'

On this occaſion too, a certain pay was inſtituted for the horſe; and it was at this time that the cavalry in general began to receive pay out of the treaſury. The new army of volunteers were conducted to Veii: the works that had been deſtroyed by the enemy were not only reſtored, but new ones conſtructed. Proviſions were conveyed from the city with more care and diligence than ever, that nothing neceſſary might be wanting to an army that deſerved ſo well of the Republic.

CHAP. VIII.

The Faliſci and Vejentes ſupport Veii and beat the Romans. Miſunderſtanding of the Generals. A. R. 351.

THE military tribunes, for the following year, were C. Servilius Ahala, for the third time; Q. Servilius, L. Virginius, Q. Sulpicius, A. Manlius, a ſecond time, and Manius Sergius, a ſecond time alſo. Whilſt thoſe tribunes were totally intent upon the war with the Vejentes, by the negligence of the governor of the fort at Anxur, in giving furloughs to the ſoldiers, and admitting the Volſcian merchants without reſerve, the centinels at the gates were betrayed, and the fort ſurprized. Few of the garriſon fell in it; as all of them but ſuch as were ſick, followed the buſineſs of ſutlers, in the adjacent country and neighbouring towns. Neither did they ſucceed better at Veii, where the whole care of the public centered. For the Roman generals hated one another more heartily, than they did the enemy; beſides that

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the ſudden appearance of the Capenates and Faliſci had rendered the Vejentes more formidable.

Theſe two Etrurian nations were not without their fears, that were Veii to fall, they would be the next whom the Romans would attack, as lying moſt contiguous for that purpoſe. The Faliſci had laid themſelves open to the reſentment of the Romans, by taking part, on a former occaſion, with the Fidenates, when at war with the Republic; and now having ſent deputies up and down among the neighbouring ſtates, they bound themſelves by an oath, and marched with their armies to Veii, when leaſt expected. They happened to attack that quarter of the camp, where Manius Sergius commanded, and cauſed the greateſt terror and diſmay; for the Romans were perſuaded that all Etruria was up in arms, and had already arrived in prodigious numbers. The ſame opinion prevailed among the beſieged in the city, and encouraged them to make a ſally.—Thus was the Roman camp aſſaulted on both ſides; and whilſt they ran up and down, charging here and there, they could neither keep back the Vejentes within their fortifications, nor defend their own lines, ſo as to repell the enemy on the outſide.

The only reſource they had, was in the hopes of aſſiſtance from the greater camp, as ſome of the legions might make head againſt the Capenates and Faliſci, whilſt others withſtood the ſallies of the townſmen; but Virginius, between whom and Sergius there was a ſecret miſunderſtanding, had the command of that camp. When he was told, that moſt part of their redoubts were attacked, their lines broke through, and the enemy advancing on both ſides, he kept his troops under arms, ſaying at the ſame time, that if there was any need of aſſiſtance, his colleague would certainly ſend him word.

The arrogance of the one, was equalled by the obſtinacy of the other, who ſcorned to aſk aſſiſtance from one he hated, and choſe rather to be defeated by the enemy, than be obliged to his fellow-citizen for victory. For a conſiderable time, the troops, thus charged on both ſides, ſuffered exceedingly; at laſt having abandoned their works, a very few eſcaped to the grand

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camp, the greateſt part, with Sergius himſelf, having made the beſt of their way to Rome. As he laid the whole blame on his colleague, Virginius was ſent for, and the command given to their lieutenants, during their abſence. The affair was laid before the ſenate, when the two colleagues ran into invectives againſt each other. Few of the ſenators conſulted the public intereſt upon this occaſion, but ſtood up in defence of one or other of the delinquents, as private friendſhip or favour determined them.

CHAP. IX.

Suſpenſion of the old, and election of new Magiſtrates.

THE principal of the ſenate were of opinion, that they ought not to wait for the uſual time of elections, but inſtantly proceed to the election of new military tribunes, who ſhould enter upon office on the firſt of October. This opinion met with general approbation; nor did the other military tribunes make the leaſt objection. But Sergius and Virginius, on whoſe account alone, it was evident the ſenate were diſpleaſed with that year's magiſtrates, firſt intreated that they might not be diſgraced, and at laſt entered a proteſt againſt the decree of the ſenate, declaring they would not quit their office, till the thirteenth of December, the uſual time for the election of new magiſtrates.

During theſe diſputes, the tribunes of the people, who, much againſt their inclination, had been quiet, whilſt harmony prevailed, and the affairs of the republic were in a proſperous train; began all of a ſudden to aſſume an imperious tone, and threatened the military tribunes with inſtant impriſonment, if they did not obey the orders of the ſenate. Then C. Servilius Ahala, tribune of the ſoldiers, addreſſing himſelf to the tribunes: 'As to you and your minaces,' *ſaid he*, 'I ſhould not 'be diſpleaſed with an opportunity of proving, that you 'have not more courage to execute, than right to threa-'ten. But the decrees of the ſenate muſt be obeyed. 'Wherefore, tribunes, let us have no more of your in-'terferring in our diſputes, to make that a pretence for

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'doing injuſtice; and my colleagues ſhall ſubmit themſelves to the pleaſure of the ſenate, or if they ſhould perſiſt in being refractory, I ſhall inſtantly name a dictator, who will know how to oblige them to quit their office.'

This diſcourſe was applauded by the whole aſſembly, the ſenators being very much pleaſed, that a more certain and conſiſtent method was found out for keeping magiſtrates in order, than the thunder of the tribunitian power. Sergius and Virginius being thus reduced to obedience, the military tribunes, with common conſent, held the Comitia, and elected ſucceſſors, who were to enter upon office, the firſt of October, previous to which, they gave in their own reſignation.

CHAP. X.

Exertions of the Tribunes to prevent Levies and payment of Taxes.

DURING the adminiſtration of L. Valerius Potitus, a fourth, M. Furius Camillus, Manius Æmilius Mamercinus, a third, Curius Cornelius Coſſus, a ſecond time, Cæſo Fabius Ambuſtus, and L. Julius Julus, who were elected military tribunes with conſular power, at this time, there was ſufficient buſineſs both at home and abroad. Wars were multiplied upon their hands, all at the ſame time, with the Vejentes, the Capenates, the Faliſci, and the Volſci, in order to recover Anxur. Moreover at Rome, they had no ſmall difficulty in making the levies and collecting the taxes. The co-optation of two tribunes, became another bone of contention, and the trial of the two military tribunes, who had juſt diveſted themſelves of conſular power, raiſed no ſmall commotion.

To raiſe the levies, however, was the firſt buſineſs of the military tribunes. Nor were the young men only inrolled, but the old were alſo obliged to give in their names, to ſerve as a city guard. The more numerous the levies, the more money became neceſſary for their pay, which, as it fell upon thoſe who remained

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at home, it was paid with no good will, as they too did the duty of ſoldiers, and ſerved the ſtate, when they acted in quality of city guards.

Theſe things, ſufficiently hard in themſelves, were greatly aggravated by the ſeditious harrangues of the tribunes, who inſiſted, that pay had been eſtabliſhed for the ſoldiers, with no other view, but to ruin one half of the citizens, by the hardſhips of war, and the other, by impoſitions they were not able to ſupport. 'Why,' *purſued they*, 'one war has already been ſpun out to the 'third year, and deſignedly miſmanaged, to protract it 'ſtill longer. At one ſingle levy, armies have been 'raiſed for four ſeparate wars, and both boys and old 'men muſtered to complete them. Now, they no 'longer make any difference between winter and ſum-'mer:—No reſt at all for the poor Plebeians, who af-'ter all their other hardſhips, are now taxed, although 'they had brought back nothing from the wars, but 'bodies worn out with fatigue, wounds, and old age; 'and at home, found their farms uncultivated through 'the long abſence of their owners; and yet, notwith-'ſtanding the ruinous ſtate of their affairs, tribute they 'muſt pay. Thus does the pay of the army return ac-'cumulated to the ſtate, as if it had been let out at in-'tereſt.'

Beſides the levies, taxes, and other caſes of more importance, at the election of the Plebeian tribunes, the number could not be completed. The Patricians ſtruggled hard, to get ſome of their order co-opted to fill up the vacant places: and when they failed in that attempt, they carried that two Plebeians, C. Lacerius, and M. Acutius, ſhould be elected, and that no doubt, by means of their own influence, for the purpoſe of invalidating the tribonian law.

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CHAP. XI.

Profecution of Sergius and Virginius.

AMONG thoſe who had been choſen, there happened to be one Trebonius, who believed that nothing leſs was due to his name and family, than the defence of a law inſtituted by one of his anceſtors. He exclaimed, 'That the military tribunes had extorted 'what ſome of the Patricians had ſued for in vain, as 'they had found in their firſt attempt; that the Trebonian law was infringed, and a co-optation of tribunes 'effected. not by the ſuffrages of the people, but by the 'authority of the Patricians, and the matter was now 'come to that paſs, that the tribunes of the commons 'were either actually Patricians, or their creatures. 'The ſacred laws were proſtituted, and the power of 'the tribunes trampled under foot: and he inſiſted, 'that all theſe were owing to the fraudulent practices 'of the Patricians, and the wickedneſs and treachery of 'his colleagues.'

Whilſt not only the ſenators, but even the tribunes, the co-opted as well as the elected, had incurred the odium of the people, theſe of the college, P. Curatius, M. Mitilius, and M. Minutius, afraid of loſing their intereſt, to divert the public odium from themſelves, run open mouthed againſt Sergius and Virginius, the military tribunes of the former year, and cited them to take their trial.

They made open proclamation, 'That to ſuch as 'groaned under the burden of taxes, levies, a tedious 'campaign, and the prolongation of the war; who lamented the loſs of their children, brothers, kinſmen, 'and friends, that fatal day at Veii, they offered a fair 'occaſion to avenge themſelves and the public, upon 'the heads of two perſons, Sergius and Virginius, who 'were equally culpable and reſponſible, for all the miſfortunes that had happened. Nor did this appear 'more evidently from the indictment laid againſt them 'by the proſecutor, than the confeſſion of the criminals, 'who being equally conſcious, each of his own guilt,

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'had laid the blame upon one another, Virginius reproaching Sergius with cowardice, and Sergius retorting on Virginius, his treachery. That it was impossible they could have acted a part so shamefully inconsistent, without the concurrence of the fathers, who were in concert, and equally fraudulent with them. With a view to protract the war, they had before that time given the Vejentes an opportunity of setting fire to their works; that now they had sacrificed the army, and delivered up the Roman camp to the Falisci. That their whole plan was to keep the youth, till they grew gray, before Veii, that the tribunes might not have it in their power to bring in a bill about the partition of lands, or any thing else respecting the interest of the commons, as they had not a sufficient number of citizens to support their bills, and make head against the intrigues of the nobles. That these delinquents had sentence already passed against them by the senate, the Roman people, and by their own colleagues. For by a decree of the senate, they were set aside as magistrates, and when they refused to abdicate, in terms of that order, they were compelled to do it by their colleagues, for fear of a dictator. Nor was this all, for the Roman people proceeded to make a new election, not as usual, on the 13th of December, but instantly on the 1st of October; because, had they continued any longer in office, this republic must have sunk at once. And yet these men, convicted and damned as they have been before so many tribunals, have the assurance to appear before the people, expecting to be acquitted, imagining they have been sufficiently punished in losing the fasces two months before the time. They do not seem to know the difference between disarming them for fear of further mischief, and punishing them, for what they have done. Were not their colleagues broke who had committed no fault? Upon this occasion, the Romans ought to recal those dispositions they felt on the late defeat, when they saw their army covered with wounds, flying, affrighted and falling down at the gates of Rome, accusing not fortune, nor the gods, but these two generals. They may rest assured, that

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'there is not a ſoul in this aſſembly, who that day did 'not heartily curſe and deteſt L. Virginius, and M. Ser-'gius, their families, and all that belonged to them. 'Is it fit then, that after invocking the Gods to puniſh 'theſe criminals, that they ſhould receive the leaſt in-'dulgence from thoſe who have them in their power, 'which they ought to exert againſt them. For the 'Gods are never the executors of vengeanoe themſelves, 'it is enough that they furniſh the injured with an op-'portunity of revenge.'

CHAP. XII.

Sergius and Virginius condemned. A Plebeian elected to the military Tribuneſhip for the firſt time.

THE people irritated by theſe harrangues, condemned the criminals, each in a fine of 10,000 aſſes of braſs †, nor would give any ear to Sergius's plea, of the chance and fortune of war, nor to Virginius's intreaty, not to render him more unhappy at home, than he had been in the field. The reſentment of the people being turned totally againſt theſe two generals, quite cancelled the remembrance of the co-optation of tribunes, and of the treacherous attempt upon the trebonian law. The tribunes, after this victory, to give the people an immediate return for their ſentence, publiſhed the Agrarian law, and forbade the tax to be collected, although they had ſo many armies to ſupport, and their military affairs were in ſo ſucceſsful a train, that they were like to come to a concluſion, without the effuſion of blood. For the camp which had been loſt before Veii, was recovered and ſecured by guards and redoubts. The tribunes, M. Æmilius and Cæſo Fabius commanded there. M. Furius led an army againſt the Faliſci, and Cn. Cornelius againſt the Capinates, but not an enemy appeared; however, they carried off a conſiderable booty, and laid waſte the country by burning their villages and conſuming their corn, without meddling with their towns, either to aſſault or beſiege them.

† £ 32. 5. 9. 3.

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Having plundered the lands of the Volſci, they attempted to take Anxur by ſtorm, but as its ſituation was high, they were diſappointed, and began to turn the ſiege into a blockade, by ſurrounding it with a moat and rampart. The province of the Volſci, had fallen to Valerius Potitus. Whilſt theſe military affairs were in this train, an inteſtine diviſion gave them much more trouble than all the foreign wars in which they were engaged. As the tribunes would not ſuffer the tax to be levied, and conſequently no remittances having been made to the commanders, the ſoldiers became importunate for their pay, which had almoſt diffuſed the ſeditious ſentiments throughout the camp, which raged in the city.

Whilſt the people were in this paſſion with the fathers, the tribunes of the people repreſented, that now was the time for eſtabliſhing their liberty, and transferring the honours of the ſtate from ſuch wretches as Sergius and Virginius, to bold and manly Plebeians. However, they went no farther, than juſt to aſcertain their right, by electing one of their order, P. Licinius Calvus, to the dignity of military tribune, with conſular power: the reſt were all Patricians, *viz.* P. Mænius, L. Titinius, P. Mælius, L. Furius Medullinus, and L. Publilius Volſcus.

The people, as well as the man of their choice, were really amazed that they had carried ſo great a point. Licinius had never borne any public office before, only he was an antient ſenator, and now a very old man. It does not appear, from what motives he was pitched on to be the firſt, and the propereſt perſon to fill this honourable ſtation. Some believe, that it was in compliment to his brother Cn. Cornelius, who had been military tribune the year before, and had given triple pay to the ſoldiers. Others aſcribe it to a very ſeaſonable ſpeech, in which, he recommended unanimity to both orders, and had the thanks of ſenate and people. The tribunes elated with this victory at the election, paſſed from their oppoſition to the tax, which had greatly clogged the wheels of government. Wherefore, the money was collected without any trouble, and remitted to the army.

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CHAP. XIII.

An epidemical distemper. Introduction of the Lectisternium. Defeat of the Falisci, Capenates, &c.

ANXUR, in the country of the Volsci, was soon after retaken, owing to the negligence of the city guards upon a holliday. This year was remarkable for the severity of the winter, and a prodigious fall of snow; insomuch that the roads were impassable, and the river quite frozen up. It had no influence, however, with respect to provisions, as a sufficient stock had been laid in before. As P. Licinius had obtained his office without noise, and with greater joy on the part of the people, than vexation on the part of the senate, so he executed it without offence to either: which engaged the commons in a peculiar manner to raise Plebeians to the military tribuneship, next election.

Of all the Patricians who offered their service, none was accepted but M. Veturius. The centuries in general voted Plebeians for the remaining places of military tribunes with consular power; namely, M. Pomponius, C. Duilius, Volero Publilius, Cn. Genutius, and L. Atilius. Whether it was owing to the intemperance of the air, changing suddenly from cold to heat, or to some other cause, the severe winter was succeeded by a summer gross and pestiferous to all kinds of animals. As no prescription was effectual in removing a distemper that seemed incurable, the senate ordered the Sibylline books to be consulted.

The duumvirs who had the care of performing the sacred rites, instituted the Lectisternium *, for the first time at Rome, and continued the festival for eight days, having spread three beds, with all the pomp and magnificence the simplicity of these times would admit, to appease Apollo, Latona, and Diana, Hercules, Mercury, and Neptune. This ceremony was also celebrated by private families. Open house was kept throughout the whole city, and every thing brought out to the street to

* From *Lectos sternere*, to prepare beds.

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be uſed in common. Nay, it is ſaid, that every one, known or unknown, and all ſtrangers were entertained with a hearty welcome. Perſons at variance, laying aſide all animoſity and diſputes, converſed with freedom and affability. Priſoners were releaſed from their chains during the days of the feſtival, and religion forbade thoſe to be bound, when the ceremony was over, whom the gods had ſet free.

In the mean time at Veii, the army had many objects of terror, three confederate armies being ready to fall upon them at once. For all on a ſudden, the Capenates and Faliſci, having come to the aſſiſtance of the Vejentes, as before, inveſted the camp, ſo that the Romans were obliged to front three different ways, to repell as many different attacks.

The remembrance of Sergius and Virginius's fate, had a peculiar influence upon their behaviour. The troops in the grand camp, that in the former action had been idle ſpectators, being inſtantly led round, fell upon the rear of the Capenates, who had attacked the Roman lines. The battle being thus begun in that quarter, quite diſconcerted the Faliſci; and a ſally very ſeaſonably made from the leſſer camp during this conſternation, made them fairly ſhow their backs. The Capenates being thus repulſed, the conquerors purſued them with prodigious ſlaughter. Nor was it long before the troops which ravaged their country, accidentally fell in with the ſcattered remains of this army, and cut them all to pieces. Many of the Vejentes, whilſt they were retreating to the city, were ſlain before their gates, which were ſhut againſt thoſe who came laſt, to prevent the Romans from entering with them.

CHAP. XIV.

Intrigues of the Nobility, to engroſs the offices of State.

THESE were the memorable events of this year. The comitia for the election of magiſtrates were now approaching, which gave the Patricians more concern than the event of the war, as ſeeing the ſupreme authority not only ſhared with, but almoſt ingroſſed by

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the commons. Wherefore, having prepared gentlemen of the higheſt quality and character, by concert, to offer their ſervice, they imagined the people would be aſhamed to ſet them aſide. But notwithſtanding theſe precautions, as if they had all been candidates, they left nothing unattempted, importuning both gods and men to favour their pretenſions. They raiſed religious ſcruples about the elections made the two preceding years; repreſenting that the year before, the winter had been intollerable, ſetting in, as it were, with cœleſtial prodigies. In the next, indeed, there were no extraordinary appearances, but the conſequence of them, a dreadful plague, which raged in town and country, and without all doubt, was the effect of the anger of the gods, whom the Sybilline books had directed them to appeaſe, in order to remove the plague. For the gods were diſpleaſed that honours were proſtituted, and the diſtinction of families confounded at the Comitia, which ſhould be held under proper auſpices.

Wherefore the people being dazled with the dignity of the candidates, and overawed by religion, elected none for military tribunes but Patricians; and theſe, for the moſt part, the moſt diſtinguiſhed of their order. They were L. Valerius Potitus, a fifth, M. Valerius Maximus, M. Furius Camillus, a ſecond, L. Furius Medullinus, a third, Q. Servilius Fidenates, a ſecond, and Q. Sulpicius Camerinus, a ſecond time. During their adminiſtration, the operations before Veii made no great noiſe. Their whole force was employed in depredations. The two commanders in chief, Potitus at Falerii, and Camillus at Capena carried off a vaſt booty, leaving nothing behind them, which fire, or ſword could deſtroy.

CHAP. XV.

Prodigy of the Lake at Alba. A. R. 355.

IN the mean time, many reports were circulated about prodigies that had been ſeen, but in general they met with neither regard nor credit, as being ſupported by only one ſingle teſtimony; and perhaps too, being at war with the Etrurians, becauſe they had no

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diviners to explain them. One however engroſſed all their whole attention. A lake, in the grove of Alba, roſe to a very extraordinary height, without any rain to ſwell it, or any other viſible cauſe to leſſen its merit as a miracle. Deputies were diſpatched to Delphi, humbly to enquire at the oracle, what the gods preſaged by this prodigy; but the fates raiſed up an interpreter nearer home.

A certain old man at Veii, who, amidſt the mutual reproaches of the Roman and Etrurian guards, and centries on their poſts, cried out, as if he had been inſpired, 'Veii ſhall never be taken by the Romans, whilſt there 'is water in the lake of Alba.' At firſt this was diſregarded as having been ſpoke at random, but ſoon after became the general topic of converſation: when one of the Roman centuries enquired at the next townſman, with whom the length of the ſiege had given him an opportunity of being acquainted, who this ſame man might be, who had expreſſed himſelf ſo myſteriouſly concerning the lake of Alba. Hearing he was a diviner, and having himſelf great faith in divinations, under pretence that he wanted to conſult him about the meaning of a prodigy reſpecting himſelf, if he would aſſiſt him in it, he decoyed the ſoothſayer to a private interview. When they had both gone out a good way from their people, without arms, or the leaſt jealouſy, the Roman who was a ſtout young man, catched the feeble old fellow in his arms, in ſight of both armies, and whilſt the Vejentes were loudly exclaiming againſt the proceeding, run off with him to the Roman camp.

He was carried before the general, and by him ſent to the ſenate of Rome. When he was interrogated with reſpect to the meaning of what he had ſaid relative to the lake of Alba, he made anſwer, 'That certainly the 'gods had been highly offended with the Vejentian na-'tion on that day, when they had put it into his mind 'to diſcover the fatal ſecret, that was to ruin his native 'country. But what he had then uttered by a divine 'impulſe he could not now recall, ſo as it might ſtill 'remain a ſecret; and by concealing what the gods in-'tended to be revealed, he ſhould perhaps contract no 'leſs guilt than by diſcovering what ought to have been

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concealed. For thus it was recorded in the books of the fates, thus it was confirmed by divination among the Etrurians, that if at any time, the lake of Alba ſwelled to an immoderate height, and the Romans, at that time, drain it in the proper manner, they ſhould be victorious over the Vejentes. But till that time, the gods would never abandon the walls of Veii.'

He then informed them in what manner the drains ought to be made. But the fathers thinking his authority too ſlight, and not entirely to be depended upon, in a matter of ſuch importance, determined that they ſhould wait for the return of the deputies from Delphi, with the anſwer of the Pythian oracle.

CHAP. XVI.

The Tarquinienſes take the opportunity of the troubles at Rome to ravage the country, and are puniſhed.

BEFORE the return of the deputies from Delphi, or an expiation of the Alban prodigy was found out, the new military tribunes, with conſular power, L. Julius Julus, L. Furius Medullinus, a fourth time, L. Sergius Fidenas, A. Poſthumius Regillenſis, P. Cornelius Maluginenſis, and A. Manlius, entered upon their office. In that year, the Tarquinienſes, a new enemy, ſtarted up. They ſaw the Romans had many wars upon their hands at the ſame time, with the Volſci, who beſieged the fort at Anxur, with the Æqui who inveſted the Roman colony at Lavicum, and beſides with the Vejentes, the Faliſci and Capenates; and moreover, the conteſts between the Patricians and Plebeians to embarraſs them at home; all which together, gave them the faireſt opportunity of humbling the Romans, for which reaſon they detached ſeveral light armed cohorts to ravage the Roman lands.

They flattered themſelves that the Romans would ſuffer this injury to paſs with impunity, not to burden themſelves with a new war, or at leaſt reſent it ſo feebly, that they would obtain an eaſy victory. The Romans were not ſo much concerned about their depredations, as they were enraged at the baſeneſs of the action. For

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which reason they made no great preparations to make sure of their revenge; nor did they long defer it.

A. Posthumius and L. Julius, being prevented from making a levy in form by the interposition of the tribunes, got together an army of volunteers, whom they had engaged by their persuasions, and striking obliquely through the country of the Cere, surprised the Tarquinienses on their return from pillaging, loaden with plunder. Many were killed on the spot; and they were all eased of their burdens.

The Romans having recovered the plunder of their lands, returned to Rome. The sufferers had two days allowed them to pick out what belonged to them; on the third, such effects as were not claimed, as belonging for the most part to the enemy, were sold at public vendue, and the proceeds divided among the soldiers. The event of the other wars, especially that with the Vejentes, was still very uncertain. And the Romans depending now no longer on human resources, relied entirely on fate and the gods. When the deputies returned from Delphi with the answer of that oracle, it agreed exactly with the prisoners report. It ran as follows: 'By all means, Romans, drain the lake of Alba, 'but take care that the water reach not the sea, 'in one 'continued stream; carry it off by small detatched 'drains, till it insensibly lose itself in the ground: then 'push on the siege with vigour, and remember, 'that 'those very fates, whose decrees are now revealed, give 'you the victory over a city, which you have been be'sieging for so many years. When the war is finished, 'and you victorious, bring a large present to my tem'ple; and see to re-establish the religious rites of your 'country, with the usual ceremonies that have been ne'glected.'

CHAP. XVII.

Expiation of the Alban prodigy. General diet of Etruria.

THE captive diviner began then to be considered in a very high point of view, and two of the military tribunes, Cornelius and Posthumius, began to make

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uſe of him, in order to expiate the Alban prodigy, and appeaſe the gods in form. And it was at length found out, that what they were accuſed of by the gods, with regard to the neglect of ceremonies, and the omiſſion of ſolemn annual feſtivals, was neither leſs nor more, than a defect in the election of magiſtrates; and that the feſtival, in honour of Jupiter Latialis, and the ſacrifice on mount Alba, had not been celebrated with due propriety. There was only one way of expiating theſe omiſſions, which was by diveſting the military tribunes of their office, repeating the auſpices a-new, and reducing the government to an inter-regnum. All which was done by a decree of the ſenate: and three gentlemen, L. Valerius, Q. Servilius Fidenas, and M. Furius Camillus ſucceſſively performed the office of inter-rex.

In the mean time, there were continual diſturbances, for the tribunes conſtantly oppoſed the comitia, till they had firſt obtained a promiſe, *That the greater part of the military tribunes, ſhould be choſen out of the Plebeian order.* During theſe tranſactions, the ſtates of Etruria held a general diet at the temple of Voltumna, where it was moved by the Capenates and Faliſci, that all the lucumonies of Etruria, ſhould, with one reſolution and conſent, march to the relief of Veii. Their anſwer was, 'That the Vejentes themſelves had made the ſame requiſition at a former diet, and had been denied, becauſe it ill became them to ſeek aſſiſtance from thoſe, whoſe advice they did not deign to aſk upon a matter of ſuch importance; but now they were obliged to give a negative to their motion, from circumſtances which regarded themſelves. This in particular was the caſe of that part of Etruria, which bordered upon the Gauls, a ſtrange nation, lately ſettled on their frontier, with whom they had no aſſurance of peace, nor any certain proſpect of war. Yet, on account of their relation and name, they would ſo far regard their preſent danger, that if any of the youth choſe to join them as volunteers, they ſhould have full liberty.' This occaſioned a report at Rome, that a prodigious aſſemblage of enemies were upon their march, which, as generally happens, drowned their inteſtine broils in a concern for their common danger:

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CHAP. XVIII.

Titinius and Genucius, receive a check from the Capenates, &c. Great conſternation at Rome.

LICINIUS CALVUS, was by the prerogative tribes, choſen military tribune, without ſueing for it, or meeting with any oppoſition from the fathers, from the proofs he gave of his moderation in his former magiſtracy, but eſpecially on account of his advanced age. Beſides, it appeared that his colleagues would be choſen from among thoſe who had ſerved with, or immediately ſucceeded him, *viz.* L. Titinius, P. Mænius, P. Mælius, C. Genucius, and L. Atilius; but after the reſt of the tribes were called in due order, and before the return was made of the election, P. Licinius Calvus, with permiſſion of the inter-rex, addreſſed the aſſembly thus.

'I perceive, Romans, that your remembrance of the 'union between my colleagues and me, in our firſt ad'miniſtration, an union more neceſſary than ever in the 'preſent conjuncture, diſpoſes you to re-elect ſeveral of 'us, whom experience has made ſtill more capable of 'commanding, into the ſame office. As for me, in'deed, I am not the ſame man; in me you behold only 'the ſhadow and name of Licinius. The ſtrength of 'my body is gone, I can ſcarce ſee or hear; my memory 'fails me, and the vigour of my mind is worn out. 'Suffer me to preſent my ſon to you, (holding him by 'the hand), the living image of him you honoured firſt 'of all the Plebeians, with the office of military tribune. 'Brought up under my eye, and in my principles, him 'I give; I devote to the commonwealth in my ſtead. 'I ſhall be highly obliged to you, gentlemen, if you 'transfer the honour you give me, ſpontaneouſly and 'unſollicited, to the demand of my ſon, and the requeſt, 'which I add in his favour.'

His requeſt was granted without difficulty, and his ſon P. Licinius, was returned military tribune with conſular power, together with thoſe, whom we have mentioned above. Titinius and Genucius, military tri-

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bunes, marched againſt the Faliſci and Capenates, and acting with greater bravery than prudence, fell headlong into an ambuſcade. Genucius paid dear for his temerity, for he was killed fighting valiantly at the head of his troops. Titinius rallied his men, after they had recovered from their fright, and having gained an eminence, drew them up again in order of battle; but he took care not to riſk another engagement upon fair ground.

The diſgrace was greater than all the loſs they ſuſtained, which, however, in the conſequence, was near proving a total defeat, ſuch was the conſternation, not only at Rome, where fame had exaggerated every circumſtance, but alſo in the camp before Veii. For a report having been circulated all over the camp, that the victorious Capenates and Faliſci, had cut off the Roman troops with both their generals, and were in full march and at no great diſtance, with all the Etrurian youth for Veii, it was with much difficulty the ſoldiers could be prevented from flying outright. The alarm was ſtill greater at Rome, for there they were perſuaded, that the camp at Veii was already attacked, and part of the enemy in full march to attack the city. The citizens flew to the ramparts, and the ladies, whom the general conſternation had driven out of their houſes, offered up ſupplications in the temples, imploring the gods, that if the Romans had by proper rites renewed the neglected ceremonies, if the prodigies had been duly expiated, they would protect the temples, houſes, and walls of Rome from deſtruction, and turn all the preſent terror againſt Veii.

CHAP. XIX.

The Dictator Camillus raiſes an army, defeates the Faliſci, and carries on new works at Veii.

BY this time the games and the Feriæ Latinæ were renewed, the waters drained from the Alban lake into the fields, and the deſtruction of Veii at no great diſtance. Wherefore, Furius Camillus, the general, for whom the fates had reſerved the deſtruction of Veii,

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and the preſervation of his country, was named dictator, who alſo appointed P. Cornelius Scipio, general of the horſe. The change of the general, in a moment gave a wonderful turn to all their affairs. New hopes, new ſouls, ſeemed to animate the whole body of the republic, and fortune ſeemed to have come over to the ſide of the city.

His firſt care was to puniſh thoſe who had fled from Veii in the ſudden conſternation, with all the ſtrictneſs of military diſcipline, and thereby taught them, that an enemy ought not to be the principal object of terror to a ſoldier.

Having fixed a day for the levies, he in the mean time poſted to Veii, in order to revive the courage of the troops there, and then returned to Rome to raiſe a new army. Nobody refuſed to enliſt; foreigners too, the youth of the Latins and Hernici, offered their ſervice, and came accordingly, for which he thanked them in full ſenate. When every thing was ready for taking the field, the dictator, by order of the ſenate, made a vow to celebrate the great games *, when Veii ſhould be taken, and to rebuild and dedicate a-new, the temple of the goddeſs Matuta †, which had formerly been dedicated by king Servius Tullius. Wherefore, leaving the city with his army, and thereby raiſing the expectation, rather than the hopes of the people, he fell in with the Faliſci and Capenates, in the territory of Nepete ‡. Every action of his, was the reſult of prudence and reaſon, and the ſucceſs as uſual, was anſwerable. He not only routed the enemy in the engagement, but took their camp, where he found conſiderable ſpoils, of which, the greateſt part was remitted to the quæſtor, and the remainder given to the ſoldiers. From thence he led his army to Veii, where he increaſed the number of forts on the lines, and prohibiting by proclamation, all fighting without orders, which had often happened between the walls of the town and the lines in inconſiderate ſkirmiſhes, he employed the people in uſeful works.

* Thoſe of the Circus.

† Juno, ſiſter of Semile, aunt of Bacchus, and wife of Athamas, was ſo called at Rome.

‡ Nepi.

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He then began the moſt important and laborious work of all, which was to carry a mine into the enemy's citadel. That there might be no intermiſſion in the work, and at the ſame time to eaſe the workmen, that they might not be oppreſſed with continual labour under ground, he divided the pioneers into ſix bands, each of which was to work ſix hours at a time. Thus the work was carried on night and day, without intermiſſion, till a paſſage was opened to the citadel.

CHAP. XX.

The works completed Diſputes about dividing the ſpoil.

THE dictator, when he ſaw that he muſt now infallibly conquer, and that the richeſt city of Italy, was on the point of falling into his hands, where, of conſequence, more conſiderable ſpoils would be taken, than had been gained in all their former wars together; that he might neither draw the anger of the ſoldiers upon himſelf, for dividing them with too much parſimony, nor the envy of the fathers, for diſtributing them with too much profuſion, wrote to the ſenate to inform that body, 'That by the favour of the immortal gods, 'his own conduct, and the perſeverance of the ſoldiers, 'Veii would ſoon be in the hands of the Roman people. 'That, therefore, he would be glad to have their opi-'nion, with regard to the diſpoſal of the ſpoils.'

The ſenate were divided into two opinions. The one was that of Licinius the father, who being firſt aſked by his ſon, anſwered, that he thought proclamation ſhould be made, that whoever of the citizens, was deſirous of ſharing in the plunder of Veii, might repair to the dictator's camp. The other was the opinion of Ap. Claudius, who ſpoke warmly againſt this bounty, as being an unprecedented prodigality, and inconſiſtent with equity and ſound policy. That if it was not judged proper, that the money taken from the enemy, ſhould be lodged in the treaſury, exhauſted as it was, by ſo many wars, he would adviſe, that it ſhould be appropriated to the payment of the ſoldiers, which would be an eaſe to the people, in regard to the taxes. That

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thereby every family would be equally ſenſible of the benefit of this largeſs, and the rapacious hands of idle citizens, would not deprive the ſoldiers of the rewards ſo juſtly due to their labour, it being uſually obſerved, that the braveſt and moſt forward in battle, were the leaſt active and expert at plundering.

Licinius, on the other hand, inſiſted, that the money ſo reſerved and appropriated, would be a ſource of endleſs diſcontent, and occaſion impeachments, and ſeditions, and new laws. 'It was better, therefore,' *purſued he*, 'to conciliate to the ſenate, the good will of 'the multitude, by a bounty which would relieve their 'preſent indigence, exhauſted as they were, by the con-'tributions of ſo many years; and make them ſenſible 'of the fruits of perſevering in a war, in which they 'might almoſt be ſaid to have grown old. That what 'each man ſhould take with his own hand from the 'enemy, and bring home, would give him more plea-'ſure and ſatisfaction, than a gift of much greater value, 'at the pleaſure of another. That the dictator, in re-'ferring the matter to the ſenate, had no other view on 'earth, but to ſpare himſelf envy and reproach. That 'the ſenate alſo ought, from a like regard to themſelves, 'to refer the whole to the diſpoſal of the people, and 'ſuffer them to take the plunder, as chance ſhould 'throw it in their way.' This advice, which was the moſt popular for the ſenate, appeared to be the ſafeſt: wherefore, proclamation was made, that ſuch as wanted to ſhare in the plunder of Veii, had only to repair to the camp, which, in conſequence, was ſoon filled with prodigious numbers that flocked thither.

CHAP. XXI.

Veii taken and plundered by the Soldiers.

THE dictator then went out to take the auſpices, and ordered the ſoldiers to arm. 'O Pythian 'Apollo, *ſaid he*, it is by thy inſpiration, and under thy 'direction, that I am going to carry deſtruction to Veii; 'to you then I devote the tenth part of the ſpoils. And, 'O queen Juno, who now reſideſt in Veii, be pleaſed

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'to follow us victorious to our city, which shall soon 'be thy city, and where thou shalt possess a temple 'worthy of thy majesty.' Having finished his prayers, and his army being sufficiently numerous, he ordered an assault to be made on all sides of the place at once, to give the besieged no opportunity of discovering their danger from the mine. The Vejentes never dreamed that they were betrayed by their own diviners, and given up by foreign oracles; that some of their tutelary gods had been invited to partake of their spoils, and others conjured to leave their city, to take up with new habitations and new temples among the enemy; and, in short, that their last hour was come: and therefore, fearing nothing less, than that their walls were undermined, and their citadel full of enemies, were eager to run in emulation of each other to the walls, unable to guess why the Romans, who had not appeared out of their lines for many days, advanced all on a sudden like madmen, to attack the place on all sides.

A story goes here, that his majesty of Veii was, at that instant, sacrificing to the gods, when the soldiers in the mine heard the diviner say, that the gods would give the victory to him who should dissect the entrails of that victim; and the Romans immediately opening the mine, seized upon the entrails, and carried them to the dictator. But in things of so old a date, I think it sufficient to take what is probable for true. Incidents of this kind, which are fitter for the stage, that delights in the marvellous, than for history; it is not worth while either to affirm or refute.

A select body of troops, which at that time filled the mine, appeared suddenly in arms, in the temple of Juno, which stood in the citadel of Veii. Some attacked the soldiers behind, as they defended the walls; some unbarred the gates; and some of them, whilst they were pelted from the house tops with stones and tiles by the women and slaves, set fire to the houses. The whole city resounded with the shouts of the invaders, and cries of the besieged, mingled with the shreiks and lamentations of women and children. In an instant, the walls were cleared of those who defended them, and the gates broke open, when part of the Roman army entered in

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whole battalions, others ſcaled the deſerted ramparts, ſo that the city ſoon ſwarmed with enemies, and the battle raged in every quarter. However, after a prodigious ſlaughter, it began to ſubſide, when the dictator ordered the heralds to proclaim quarter to all who ſhould lay down their arms.

Here the ſlaughter ended, and the ſurrender of the unarmed multitude commenced: then alſo, with permiſſion of the dictator, the ſoldiers fell to plunder. When Camillus had occular demonſtration, that the ſpoils, both in quantity and value, far ſurpaſſed what he had ever expected or imagined, he is ſaid to have lifted up his hands to heaven, praying 'that if the good 'fortune of the Roman people, or his own, appeared too 'great in the ſight of gods or men, that the envy there-'of might fall upon him, but to ſpare the common-'wealth.' It is further added, that as he was turning round, after this prayer, that he fell to the ground; an accident conſtrued by ſome, to preſage his condemnation, after it had really happened, and the deſtruction of Rome, after it was taken by the Gauls: both theſe events happened a few years after. Thus, was that day ſpent in ſlaughtering the Vejentes, and plundering their moſt opulent city.

CHAP. XXII.

Murmurs againſt Camillus. Juno brought to Rome.

NEXT day, the dictator expoſed the freemen to public ſale, the proceeds whereof alone were ſet apart for the public treaſury. At this the people took great offence, alledging, that what plunder they carried home with them, they had no reaſon to aſcribe to the general, who, with a view to make them the authors of his own malevolence, had ſubmitted an affair to them, which entirely depended on himſelf; nor to the ſenate, but to the family of the Licinii, a ſon whereof had laid the matter before the ſenate, and his father had ſtrongly eſpouſed the intereſt of the people, in ſupporting the motion.

After all the worldly riches had been removed from

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Veii, they began to remove what had been conſecrated to the gods, and the gods themſelves; but in this they acted more like worſhippers than pillagers. For ſome of the youngeſt men of the whole army were ſelected, to whom, when their bodies were waſhed perfectly clean, and cloathed in white, it was given in charge to tranſport queen Juno to Rome. They entered her temple with reverence, touching her at firſt with a religious awe, becauſe that ſtatute, by a ceremony among the Etrurians, none uſed to touch, but a prieſt of a certain family. At laſt when one of the lads, whether by a divine impulſe, or in a youthful frolic, aſked her, 'Will you go 'to Rome, Juno?' 'Yes, yes, *cried they altogether*, you 'ſee the goddeſs nods her aſſent;' which gave riſe to the ſtory, that ſhe was heard to pronounce diſtinctly, 'With all my heart.' Certain it is, that ſhe was eaſily moved from her place, and that they got her to Rome, with as little trouble or difficulty, as if ſhe had followed them. They conveyed her ſafe and ſound to the Aventine hill, whether the dictator had invited her; and which was from that time to be the ſeat of her reſidence for ever; and where he dedicated a temple to her, in diſcharge of a vow he had made.

Such was the fate of Veii, the richeſt city of all Tuſcany; the final ruin of which, demonſtrated its greatneſs: for, having ſuſtained an unremitted ſiege for ten ſummers and as many winters, wherein Rome had ſuffered more from it, than it had done from Rome, it was at laſt, by unavoidable deſtiny, reduced not by force, but by ſtratagem.

CHAP. XXIII.

Camillus returns in triumph. The People diſguſted.

WHEN the news of the reduction of Veii reached Rome, although the prodigies had been expiated, the reſponſes of the diviners, and of the Pythian oracle, a ſecret to none; and to ſecure ſucceſs by every device human prudence could afford, they had choſen the greateſt general of his age, Marcus Furius; yet becauſe the fortune of war had ſhifted ſo often, and they had

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met with ſo many defeats, the joy was incredible, as if the cauſe of it had been beyond all expectation. Before the ſenate could paſs any decree, the Roman ladies had filled all the temples, returning thanks to the gods. The ſenate ordained ſolemn ſupplications for four days, a greater number than had ever been appointed in any former war. Never had any general ſuch a retinue before, at his arrival; for all ranks and conditions ran in crowds to meet him: and the magnificence of that day's triumph, far exceeded what was uſual on ſuch occaſions. He himſelf was more eſpecially conſpicuous, having made his entry into the city, in a chariot drawn by four white horſes: whence it was inferred, that he exalted himſelf not only above the condition of a citizen, but even of human nature. They conſidered it as an act of impiety for the dictator to be drawn by the ſame number of horſes, and of the ſame colour too, with thoſe of Jupiter and the ſun; and this circumſtance alone, however much it might heighten the ſplendor of his triumph, rendered it leſs agreeable to the ſpectators.

After this he drew the plan of the temple of queen Juno on the Aventine hill, and dedicated that of the goddeſs Matuta. Wherefore having thus performed his duty to the gods, and done ſuch ſignal ſervice to the ſtate, he abdicated the dictatorſhip.

The preſent to Apollo, came then under public conſideration. When Camillus repreſented, that he had vowed the tenth part of the ſpoils to the God, the prieſts gave it as their opinion, that the people ought to perform the vow. But to preſcribe a method to make the people bring in the ſpoils, ſo as to deduce from them what was due to the God, was no eaſy matter. At laſt they had recourſe to an expedient, which ſeemed to be leaſt troubleſome. They ordered all thoſe who wiſhed to have their conſciences clear with reſpect to this vow, and to inſure the ſafety of their families, to make a fair and candid eſtimate of the booty they had obtained, and lodge the tenth part of that value in the public treaſury, that it might be formed into a preſent of pure gold, worthy the auguſt temple, and majeſty of that God for whom it was intended, and ſuitable to the grandeur of

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the Roman people. This contribution added to the people's diſguſt at Camillus.

In the mean time ambaſſadors came from the Volſci to ſue for peace, which was granted them, not out of reſpect to their merit, but to give the people ſome reſpite from war, with which they had been ſo long and ſo much harraſſed.

CHAP. XXIV.

Inrolement for a Colony to be planted in the Volſcian territory. Motion for transferring it to Veii.

AFTER the reduction of Veii, ſix military tribunes with conſular power, were elected for the following year, the two P. P. Cornelii, Coſſus, and Scipio, M. Valerius Maximus, a ſecond, Cæſo Fabius Maximus, a third, L. Furius Medullinus, a fifth, and Q. Servilius, a third time. The war with the Faliſci, fell by lot to the Cornelii, that with the Capenates, to Valerius and Servilius. They made no attempt upon their cities by ſtorm, or blockade, contenting themſelves with ravaging the country, and carrying off their implements of huſbandry. Not one fruit-tree, nor ſtalk of corn was left in the country. This diſtreſs humbled the Capenates. They ſued for peace, and obtained it.

The war with the Faliſci, was carried on at Rome, during theſe tranſactions, there were many ſeditions; to appeaſe which, they had determined to ſend a colony into the country of the Volſci, for which 3000 Roman citizens were inrolled. The three commiſſioners choſen to conduct this buſineſs, had aſſigned to each planter 3 $\frac{1}{17}$ Roman acres. The people began to look upon this as no favour, imagining it was only a bait to divert their attention from more lucrative expectations. For, why ſhould the people be baniſhed among the Volſci, when they had in proſpect Veii, a moſt beautiful city and all its domains, richer and more extenſive than even the territory of Rome? With Veii they thought Rome would bear no compariſon, either for ſituation, or the grandeur of its buildings and accomodations, public and private.

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Moreover, a motion was made, which became more ſeribus after Rome had been taken by the Gauls, of removing to Veii. But in this motion it was propoſed, that part of the ſenate and part of the people ſhould ſettle at Veii, and that the two cities inhabited by Romans, ſhould conſtitute but one commonwealth. But this the nobility oppoſed ſo warmly, that they declared they would ſooner die in ſight of the Roman people, than ſuffer ſuch a bill to be tabled: 'If there be ſuch 'diſſenſions in one city, what muſt there be in two? 'would any man in his ſenſes prefer a conquered city, 'to his own native city, that had conquered it? Or ren-'der the captive town of Veii, more conſiderable after 'its fall, than ever it had been before it? In fine, that 'their fellow-citizens might leave them in their native 'country, if they pleaſed, but that no compulſion 'ſhould oblige them to relinquiſh the place of their 'birth, and their fellow-citizens, in order to follow 'T. Sicinius, *(it was this tribune who had preferred the 'bill)*, the new founder to Veii, and forſake our God 'Romulus, the ſon of a God, and the father and foun-'der of Rome.'

CHAP. XXV.

Diſputes about Veii. Generoſity of the Roman Ladies.

WHILST the diſputes on this ſubject roſe to a ſcandalous height, (for the fathers had brought over ſome of the college of tribunes to be of their ſide), nothing prevented the people from coming to blows, but that the moment a ſhout was ſet up as a ſignal to fall on, the principal ſenators firſt preſented themſelves to the mob, deſiring them to proceed, to ſtrike, and to put them to death. A reſpect to age, and to the honour and dignity of theſe gentlemen, ſaved them from harm, and the people aſhamed of their reſentment, behaved with more delicacy for the future. Camillus went from place to place, loudly declaiming; 'That he was 'not at all ſurpriſed to ſee the people ſeized with mad-'neſs, ſeeing they had nothing leſs at heart, than the 'performance of their vows to the Gods; he would

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'say nothing of the contribution, which had more the 'appearance of an alms, than a tenth of the spoil. 'Each of the individuals had bound himself to the per-'formance, so that the state was free. But he was o-'bliged in conscience to tell them one thing, that the 'tenth of the moveable part of the spoils had only been 'set apart for the God, whilst the captive city, and all 'the territory belonging to it were comprehended in 'his vow.'

The senate, pretending to be perplexed about this scruple, referred the whole to the pontiffs, who in concert with Camillus, declared, as the opinion of their college, that a tenth of whatever had belonged to the Vejentes, before the dictator made his vow, and had, after he had made the vow, fallen into the hands of the Romans, ought to be sacred to Apollo. In consequence of this judgment, the city and territory were valued, and a tenth of the estimate given out of the treasury to the military tribunes, to be given in exchange for gold. But as there was not enough of this metal to be had in Rome, the ladies having had several meetings to deliberate on that affair, with one consent made offer of their service to the military tribunes, and in consequence thereof, brought their gold and all their ornaments to the treasury.

Never were the fathers better pleased with any thing, than with this instance of complaisance in the ladies; in return for which generosity, it is said, they conferred the honour on them, of riding in covered chariots to the sacrifices and public games, and in open phaitons on festival and other days. The gold from each was weighed *, and valued, so as the equivalent might be returned them in money, and they fixed on a massy cup to be made of it, which was to be carried to Delphi, as a present to Apollo.

No sooner was the business of the vow settled, than the tribunes of the commons began to stir again. The multitude were inraged at the whole body of the nobi-

* Plutarch makes that gold amount to eight talents, an enormous sum for these times, amounting nearly in value to £ 12,000 sterling.

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lity, but especially at Camillus. In their absence they exclaimed prodigiously, that by their sequestrations and their consecrations, they had reduced the spoils of Veii to nothing. In their presence, they behaved with more delicacy, as they never seemed to avoid, but rather throw themselves in their way, when they were disposed to be in a passion. Finding the matter was not like to be determined for this year, they chose again to the Plebeian tribuneship, the same men who had preferred the bill; and the senators used all their influence to do the same by those who had opposed it: so that there was little change in the college.

CHAP. XXVI.

Camillus marches against the Falisci. Drives them into their city which he besieges.

BY an extraordinary exertion of their interest, the fathers prevailed in the Comitia for electing military tribunes, to have Camillus chosen to be one of them. They pretended, that they wanted an able general for the war, but their real aim, was to provide themselves in a champion fit to enter the lists with the tribunes of the commons, who were violently bent on the partition of the lands of Veii contended for.

With Camillus, were chosen for military tribunes, L. Furius Medullinus, a sixth, C. Æmilius, L. Valerius Poplicola, Sp. Posthumius, and P. Cornelius, a second time. In the beginning of the year, the tribunes of the people made no stir; till M. Furius Camillus, who was charged with the war against the Falisci, should take the field, and even then they made but little progress, owing to their delays; whilst Camillus, their most formidable adversary, acquired new glory by his conduct in the war with the Falisci.

The enemy for some time kept themselves shut up in Falisci, till the devastations made by the Romans, in the territorry about it, provocked them at length to come out. Their fear, however, did not suffer them to advance far. They encamped about a mile from the town. The only security, and that not a slight one, upon

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which they depended, was the difficulty of approaching them, through rough and craggy ways, through narrow defiles, and over steep rocks. Camillus pressed a peasant for a guide, and decamping in the dead of night, shewed himself by the morning's dawn, on a ground that overlooked them. The Romans intrenched themselves in three divisions; the remainder of the army standing under arms, ready to engage: whilst the enemy attempted to obstruct the works, were routed and put to flight. Such was the consternation of the Falisci, that they ran past their camp, which was in their way, with great precipitation to the town.

The list of the killed and wounded, before the fugitives could get within their gates, was numerous. The camp was taken, and the whole spoil given up to the quæstors, much to the disatisfaction of the soldiers, but kept in order by strick discipline. The same virtue for which they hated him, they could not help admiring. After this victory, he invested the town and surrounded it with lines. The townsmen sometimes, as they found an opportunity, sallied out, and had slight skirmishes with the Roman guards, spinning out the time, with little difference, as to their hopes on either sides. For the town was better supplied with corn and other provisions, than the besiegers, having taken care to fill their magazines before hand: and, in all probability, the siege of Falerii, would have cost them as much time and trouble as that of Veii had done, had not the fortune of the Roman general, and a new instance which he exhibited of his well known abilities in military affairs, hastened on the victory.

CHAP. XXVII.

Villainy of a Schoolmaster. Generosity of Camillus. Its effects on the Falisci.

IT was a custom among the Falisci, to make the same person both tutor and companion to their children, and to put many boys at the same time under the care of one master; a practice among the Greeks at this day.

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The maſter who had the greateſt character for erudition, as is generally the caſe, had the charge of the youth of the greateſt diſtinction. This man, in time of peace uſually carried his pupils out before the city, to play and exerciſe themſelves. Nor during this war did he diſcontinue it, ſometimes carrying them a little, and ſometimes a greater way from the city. But, at laſt, having found his opportunity, he decoyed them by play and entertaining tales, farther from the gates than uſual; firſt to the Roman out-poſts, then to the camp, till at laſt he landed them quite at Camillus's tent. There he crowned his villainous action with as villainous a ſpeech, *viz.* that he now delivered Falerii into the hands of the Romans, by putting theſe young gentlemen under his power, whoſe fathers had the principal ſway in the city.

When Camillus had heard the ſcoundrel to an end, he replied, 'Execrable wretch, thou doſt not approach 'either a general, or a people, with thy impious pre-'ſent, like thyſelf. With the Faliſci, we have indeed 'no expreſs and formal alliance; but that which nature 'hath eſtabliſhed between all men, both does and ſhall 'ſubſiſt between us. War has its rights, and ſo has 'peace, and we have learned to make it with no leſs 'juſtice than valour. We are in arms, it is true, but 'not againſt that age, which is ſpared even in cities 'taken by ſtorm, but againſt men, armed like ourſelves; 'and theſe too, who without any injury or provocation 'from us, attacked the Roman camp at Veii: them, 'to the utmoſt of thy power, thou haſt exceeded, by a 'crime of an extraordinary nature. But, as for me, I 'ſhall conquer as at Veii, by Roman arts, by valour, 'works, and arms.'

The traitor was then ſtripped, his hands tied behind his back, and then delivered up to his pupils, who were furniſhed with rods, to whip him all the way to the city. This ſpectacle brought prodigious crouds of people, when the magiſtrates conveened the ſenate, to deliberate about an affair that ſeemed ſo extraordinary. So great a revolution in their ſentiments did this circumſtance effect, that they who before had been ſo inflamed with hatred and reſentment, that they would have preferred annihilation with the Vejentes, to an

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accomodation with the Capenates, were unanimouſly determined to ſue for peace. Nothing was talked of in the forum, or ſenate-houſe, but the virtue of the Romans, and the probity of their general; and accordingly, with one conſent, ambaſſadors were diſpatched to the camp to Camillus, and by his permiſſion, to the ſenate at Rome, to ſurrender Falerii.

When they had leave of audience, it is ſaid, they addreſſed the ſenate in the following terms; 'Illuſtrious 'fathers, conquered by you, and your general, in a 'manner that can give no offence to Gods, nor men, 'we are come to ſurrender ourſelves to you, convinced 'that we ſhall live more happy under your government, 'than under our own laws, a circumſtance that reflects 'a peculiar honour on the conqueror. The event of 'this war, furniſhes mankind with two excellent ex'amples. You, fathers, have preferred juſtice in war 'to immediate conqueſt: and we, excited by that juſ'tice, do voluntarily preſent you the victory. We are 'now entirely yours. Send commiſſioners to receive 'our arms, our hoſtages, our city, the gates of which 'ſtand open to you: You will have no reaſon to com'plain of our fidelity, nor we to regret our preſent ſub'miſſion.' Camillus had both the thanks of the enemy and of his country. To exempt the people from taxes, a year's pay to the army was exacted from the Faliſci; and peace being granted them on theſe terms, the army returned home.

CHAP. XXVIII.

War with the Æqui, various ſucceſs.

THE applauſes now given to Camillus, upon his return to Rome, and the conqueſt he had made over the enemy by his juſtice and integrity, were far more ſincere, than thoſe he had formerly received, when the white horſes drew his triumphal chariot through the city. The ſenate made honourable mention of his modeſty, and in order to diſcharge his vow with all poſſible diſpatch, L. Valerius, L. Sergius, and A. Manlius, were deputed to carry a golden cup to Delphos, as a

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preſent to Apollo. The long galley, in which theſe deputes embarked, was intercepted by ſome pirates from the iſle of Liparæ, not far from the ſtreights of Meſſina, and by them carried into Liparæ. It was their cuſtom to divide all their captures among the citizens.

Their principal magiſtrate this year was one Timaſitheus, a man, who reſembled the Romans more in his manners, than he did his countrymen. This magiſtrate, full of veneration for the God, and the preſent ſent him, and out of reſpect to the character of the ambaſſadors, and, the embaſſy on which they were ſent, inſpired the multitude, who generally follow the ſentiments of their leaders, with the ſame regard for juſtice and religion. And having not only entertained them with great hoſpitality, but in perſon, with a ſquadron of ſhips, convoyed them to Delphi, and from thence ſafe back to Rome. The right of hoſpitality was conferred on him by a decree of the ſenate, and great preſents were made him at the public expenſe.

Throughout this year, the war with the Æqui took ſuch various turns, that it remained a queſtion both at Rome and in the camp, which ſide had the better. The generals in the war, were C. Æmilius, and Sp. Poſthumius. At firſt they acted in conjunction, and when they had defeated the enemy in a pitched battle, Æmilius thought proper to go to garriſon Verrugo, and Poſthumius to lay waſte the enemy's borders. The latter marching with his troops with too little precaution, after his late ſucceſs, was ſurpriſed and driven to the adjacent hills in great conſternation by the Æqui. Their fright communicated itſelf to the other garriſon at Verrugo.

Poſthumius having rallied his men, and got them into a place of ſafety, reproached them ſeverely with their panic and flight, telling them, that they had ſuffered themſelves to be beat by a moſt cowardly enemy, who always ſhow their backs. The whole army acknowledged, that there was too much truth in what they had heard, and confeſſed the fault, of which they had been guilty, but promiſed that they would make amends, and give the enemy but ſhort time to rejoice over them. They begged with earneſtneſs, to be inſtantly led to the

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attack of the enemy's camp, which was within ſight, in a plain below, declaring at the ſame time, that they would ſubmit to any puniſhment, if they did not force it before night. He commended their ardour, bid them refreſh themſelves and be ready at the fourth watch.

As the enemy, to hinder the Romans from eſcaping from the hill to Verrugo, in the night time were guarding the road that led thither, the two armies met there. The action began before day light, but the moon ſhone bright all the night over, and they could ſee what they were about, as well as by day. The ſhouts of the combatants reaching Verrugo, it was believed there that Poſthumius's camp was aſſaulted, which occaſioned ſuch a fright, that notwithſtanding all that Æmilius could urge to prevent them, the troops diſperſed and fled for refuge to Tuſculum. Thence flew a report to Rome, that Poſthumius and his army were cut to pieces. But Poſthumius, as ſoon as it was light, and ſafe to make a hot purſuit without danger of falling into an ambuſh, rode through the ranks reminding them of their promiſe, which inſpired them with ſuch ardour, that the Æqui could no longer ſtand before them. The ſlaughter that enſued of the fugitives, was rather the effect of reſentment than bravery, and ended in the deſtruction of the enemy. Poſthumius's letter crown'd with laurel ſoon undeceived them with reſpect to the melancholy news from Tuſculum, bearing that the Romans had gained a complete victory, and that the army of the Æqui had been quite deſtroyed.

CHAP. XXIX.

Motions of the Æqui. Trial and condemnation of two Tribunes.

AS the tribunes of the people had made no progreſs in their bill, the commons laboured hard to keep thoſe in office who had propoſed it, as did the fathers, on the other hand, to get thoſe re-elected, who had oppoſed it. The commons prevailed however in the comitia. The fathers, in revenge of this diſappointment,

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procured a decree of the senate for electing consuls, magistrates that were odious to the people. After an interval of fifteen years, L. Lucretius Flavus, and Servillus Sulpicius Camerinus were chosen consuls. In the beginning of this year, whilst the tribunes renewed their intrigues with all imaginable zeal, to get their bill passed, as they had not one opponent in all the college, the consuls, for that very reason, were equally active to prevent it; and whilst the whole city seemed to be intent upon that point alone, the Æqui made themselves masters of the Vetelean colony, which had been planted in their country. The greatest part of the planters escaped unhurt, by the back gates of the city, through which, favoured by the darkness of the night, when the city was taken by treachery, they had a free passage, and fled to Rome.

L. Lucretius got that province by lot. He marched with an army, chastised the enemy, and returned victorious to Rome, where a more obstinate engagement awaited him. A day was appointed for the trial of Aulus Virginius, and Q. Pomponius, both tribunes of the people for the two preceding years; in whose defence, by consent of the fathers, the honour of the senate was engaged. They could be charged with no crime, either with respect to their morals, or the discharge of their office, but that they had, to gratify the Patricians, opposed the bill brought in by their colleagues. The people's resentment prevailed over the interest of the fathers, and innocent men, in this shocking instance, were condemned in a fine of 10,000 asses of brass *: A sentence which gave great offence to the fathers.

Camillus openly accused the people of the most scandalous partiality. 'Their rage, *said he*, is now turned 'against their own party, not perceiving, that by their 'iniquitous sentence, they had given a mortal blow to 'the tribunitian power, by depriving their tribunes of 'the privilege of intercession: for if they imagined, 'that the senate would endure an unbridled licentiousness in any of these magistrates, they were dreadfully 'mistaken. For if the violence of some of the tribunes 'could not be checked by the opposition of some of the

* £ 32. 5. 9. 3.

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'college, they might be assured the senate would find 'another method of restraining it.' He likewise reproved the consuls, for tamely standing by, and suffering the two tribunes to be oppressed, who had acted entirely by advice of the senate, trusting to their promised protection.

CHAP. XXX.

Disputes about settling at Veii. The Fathers prevail.

BY haranguing openly to this purpose, he daily incensed the people against him more and more. As to the law in question, he never ceased to spirit up the the fathers against it: telling them, 'That they ought 'not to go down to the forum, upon the day when the 'law was to be proposed, but as to a field of battle, 'where they should remember, they were to fight for 'their altars, their fire-sides, the temples of their Gods, 'and the place which had given them birth. That 'with regard to himself, considered in a private capa-'city, could he allow himself to think of his own glory, 'when that of his country came in competition, nothing 'could flatter his ambition more, than to see a city, 'which he had reduced, filled with inhabitants, who 'would be so many living witnesses of his glory, and 'constantly present to him the monuments of his victory, 'where no-body could move a step, but on the traces 'of his atchievements. But it was impious to conceive 'thoughts of inhabiting a city, forsaken and abandoned 'by the immortal Gods, and shameful to propose, that 'the Roman people should reside on a captive soil, and 'prefer to their own country, a country conquered 'by it.'

The senators old and young, roused with these exhortations of their champion, when the law was to be proposed, went all in a body to the forum, and dispersing themselves among the tribes, each addressed himself to their fellow citizens of his own tribe, and began to beg with tears in their eyes, that they would not abandon that country, for which they and their fathers had fought with so much valour and success; pointing, at

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the same time to the capitol, the temple of Vesta, and other temples around them, conjuring them not to drive the Roman people, like felons and exiles, from their native country, and their guardian gods, to inhabit a city, but lately peopled by their enemies, and bring matters to that pass, that it had been better Veii had never been taken, than Rome be thus deserted.

As the Patricians abstained from all violence, and only employed prayers and entreaties upon this occasion, which they mingled with frequent mention of the Gods, it became a point of religion with most of the tribes, so that the law was rejected, though it was only by a majority of one of the tribes. The senate were so overjoyed at this victory, that the next day, upon a motion made by the consuls, the senate enacted, that seven acres of the lands of Veii should be assigned to each commoner; not only to every father of a family, but to every single person of free condition in his family, as an inducement to them to marry and bring up children.

CHAP. XXXI.

New enemies start up against Rome. A. R. 360.

THE people were so sensible of this obligation, that they suffered the comitia to be held for electing consuls, without the least opposition. The fasces were accordingly transferred to L. Valerius Potitus, and M. Manlius, who afterwards got the firname of Capitolinus. These consuls celebrated the great games, which M. Furius had vowed, when dictator in the Vejentian war.

This year also, the temple of queen Juno, vowed by the same dictator, during the same war, was dedicated; when, by all accounts, the zeal of the Roman ladies rendered the ceremony particularly splendid. With the Æqui there was an action at the Algidus, but of no great consideration, as the enemy were routed almost before they had struck a stroke: Valerius had a triumph decreed him, because he pursued the enemy farther, and did more execution than Manlius, who was only honoured with an ovation.

In this same year, a new war broke out with the Vol-

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finienſes, againſt whom no new army could be led, becauſe a famine and peſtilence, occaſioned by an exceſſive hot and dry ſeaſon, then raged in the Roman territory. This gave the Volſinienſes ſo much aſſurance, that in conjunction with the Salpinates *, they made an incurſion upon the Roman lands, without the leaſt provocation. War was then declared againſt both nations. In the mean time, C. Julius, one of the cenſors was carried off, and L. Cornelius ſubſtituted in his place; a thing afterwards deemed inauſpicious, becauſe Rome was taken in that luſtrum. Nor after this time did the Romans ever ſubſtitute, in the place of a cenſor who died in his office, another perſon to be colleague to the ſurvivor. The conſuls too falling ſick, the ſenate decreed that they ſhould abdicate, and an inter-regnum enſue. The conſuls having therefore demitted in terms of the ſenate's decree, M. Furius Camillus was created inter-rex, and ſucceeded by Cornelius Scipio, and he again by Valerius Potitus, who held the comitia for the election of ſix military tribunes with conſular power, that in caſe any of them ſhould be ſeized with the diſtemper, the Republic might never want magiſtrates.

CHAP. XXXII.

The Volſinienſes chaſtiſed. A prodigy. Camillus baniſhed. A. R. 361.

ON the firſt of July, L. Lucretius, Servius Sulpicius, M. Æmilius, L. Furius Medillinus, a ſeventh, Agrippa Furius, and C. Æmilius, a ſecond time entered upon that magiſtracy. The war with the Volſinienſes fell by lot to L. Lucretius and C. Æmilius; and with the Salpenates to Agrippa Furius, and Servius Sulpicius. The firſt engagement they had was with the Volſinienſes, who were more formidable for their numbers, than their proweſs. For they were routed and put to flight at the firſt onſet, and 8000 men in arms being ſurround-

* The Volſinienſes and Salpenates were both nations of Etruria. The former inhabited a conſiderable city, Volſinium, the capital of one of the twelve Lucumonies, ſituated near the modern Bologna. Of Salpinum nothing certain can be affirmed.

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ed by the Roman cavalry, laid down their arms and surrendered at discretion. The news of this battle cooled the ardour of the Salpenates, so that they durst not appear in the field, but shut themselves up, armed as they were, within their walls.

The Romans pillaged both the Volsinian and Salpinatian lands, every where, without meeting with the least opposition; till at length, the Volsinians who were heartily tired of the war, obtained a truce for twenty years, on condition of replacing whatever they had taken from the people of Rome, and of being at the expence of one year's pay to the army.

This year too, one Cædicius, a man of low rank, told the tribunes, that he heard a miraculous voice, in the New Street, above the temple of Vesta, where there is now a chapel, which pronounced distinctly, 'Go, tell 'the magistrates, the Gauls draw near.' The man's meanness, as it is the way of the world, brought the warning into contempt. Moreover, that nation was remote, and consequently little known. But not only were the warnings from the Gods despised on this occasion, but Rome, pushed headlong by the fates to destruction, had also deprived herself, in the banishment of Camillus, of every human aid. This great man having had a day appointed, by L. Apuleius, tribune of the people, to answer to an accusation, in relation to the spoils of Veii, when he was in deep affliction for the loss of his son, a promising youth, he called a meeting in his house, of his kindred and clients, which comprehended a great part of the commons: and when he had sounded them with respect to the charge laid against him, and found by their answers that they could not acquit him, though they would most chearfully contribute to his fine, he rather chose to banish himself from Rome; praying the immortal Gods, 'That if he had suffered 'this injury without reason, his ungrateful country 'might soon have reason to regret his absence.' He was condemned in absence, in 15,000 asses of brass *.

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CHAP. XXXIII.

Digreſſion relative to the Gauls. A. R. 362.

THUS was one citizen driven into exile, who, had he remained at Rome, would, in all probability, have ſaved the city from being taken. As the fatal ſtroke was faſt approaching, ambaſſadors came from Cluſium to ſollicit aid againſt the Gauls. The tradition is, that the Gauls charmed with the excellent fruits, and eſpecially with the dilicious wines of Italy, which they had never taſted before, croſſed the Alps, and ſeized upon lands which had formerly been in poſſeſſion of the Etrurians; and that Arunx, a Cluſian, had imported wine into Gaul, to entice that nation to make the invaſion, out of reſentment that Lucumo had debauched his wife, in return for his attention as his tutor, and from whom he could get no ſatisfaction, his intereſt being very conſiderable, unleſs he was ſupported by foreign aid: in conſequence of which, that he conducted the Gauls over the Alps, and adviſed them to the ſiege of Cluſium.

I will not pretend to ſay, but the Gauls might have been brought to Cluſium by this Arunx, or ſome other inhabitant of the place; but it is very certain, that thoſe who laid ſiege to Cluſium were not the firſt who had croſſed the Alps: for the Gauls had found the way to Italy, two hundred years before the ſiege of Cluſium, or the capture of Rome. Nor was it theſe Etrurians, whom the Gaulic troops firſt encountred, but long before, who inhabit the country between the Appennines and the Alps, with whom they were frequently at war.

The Tuſcan dominions were of conſiderable extent, both by ſea and land, before the Roman empire exiſted. From the upper to the lower ſea, by which Italy is ſurrounded in the form of an iſland, their very names aſcertain the mighty power of this people, the nations of Italy, calling the one the Tuſcan, from the general name of the people, and the other the Adriatic ſea, from

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Adria, a Tuscan colony. The Greeks call them the Tyrhenian and Adriatic seas. This people, in twelve cities, inhabited the countries along the coasts of both seas, and by sending out colonies equal in number to their mother cities, first on this side of the Appeninnes towards the lower sea, and afterwards as many on the other side, possessed all the country beyond the Po, excepting a corner belonging to the Venetians, who dwelt round a bay of the sea, as far as the Alps. Nor can it be doubted, but this too was the origin of the Alpine nations, especially the Rhetæ, whom the situation of their country hath rendered so wild, that they retain nothing of their original, but a little of their language, and that too corrupted.

CHAP. XXXIV. *In Continuation.*

THE history which I have been able to collect of the descent of the Gauls into Italy, is as follows. During the reign of Tarquinius Priscus at Rome, the Bituriges had the supreme authority among the Celtæ, who inhabited a third part of Gaul *, and gave them a king called Ambigatus, a very powerful prince, both on account of his personal bravery, and fortune public and private; who finding that the part of Gaul of which he was sovereign, was so overstocked with produce as well as inhabitants, that it was next to impossible to manage them, signified to Bellovisus and Sigovisus, his sisters sons, two active young fellows, as he was now an old man, and wished to get clear of a troublesome crowd, that he resolved to send them into whatever settlements the Gods by augury should direct. They might raise what number of men they pleased, that no nation, wherever they came, might be able to repell them.

* Gaul was divided into three parts, and inhabited by three distinct sorts of people, the Belgæ, the Gauls or Celtæ, and the Aquitani. Belgic Gaul was bounded by the Seine, the Marne, the mountains of Vague, the Rhine and the ocean. Celtic Gaul, by the ocean, the Seine, the Marne, the Soane, the Rhone, and the Garonne; and Aquitanic Gaul, by the ocean, the Garronne, and the Pyrennees. Modern Gaul has a fourth, namely Provence, where the Massilians landed and founded the city Marseilles.

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The Hercinian foreſt (*a*) fell by lot to Sigoviſus, but the Gods pointed out to Belloviſus a more agreeable road to Italy. He aſſembled the Bituriges (*b*), Averni (*c*), Senones (*d*), Ædui (*e*), Ambarri (*f*), Carnutes (*g*), and Aulerci (*h*), becauſe theſe cantons were overſtocked with people.

Setting out with a numerous train of horſe and foot, he came firſt to the country of Tricaſtini (*i*). They were ſoon after oppoſed by the Alps, which ſeemed to them impaſſable; and no wonder, ſince there is no certain evidence, that ever they had been croſſed by mortal, unleſs we are inclined to give credit to the ſtories concerning Hercules.

Whilſt the Gauls were confined by the height of theſe mountains, and were looking about them for a way leading to another world, over the tops of theſe mountains, which reached to heaven, they were detained by a religious ſcruple: they were informed that a ſtrange people were out in queſt of a ſettlement and were oppoſed by the Salyes (*k*), it was the Maſſilians, who had ſailed from Phocæa, in Aſia Minor. The Gauls conſidering this as an omen of their own fortune, aſſiſted them in fortifying a place where they firſt landed, which was naturally defended by ſurrounding woods. The Gauls purſued their route over the pathleſs Alps, by the Taurinian foreſt (*l*); and having defeated an army of Tuſcans, near the river Ticin, they were informed that the country where they were encamped was called Inſubria, [now the Milaneſe]; a name given alſo to a canton of Autun. There, purſuing their good fortune, they built a city which they called Mediolanum, [now Milan.]

(*a*) This foreſt covered a great part of the antient Germany, commencing at the banks of the Rhine, and in Swabia, where it is called at this day the Black foreſt, and extending beyond Bohemia.

(*b*) People who inhabited Bourges. (*c*) Auvergne.
(*d*) Senonois. (*e*) Autonſis. (*f*) Charlois. (*g*) Chartres.
(*h*) Evreux. (*i*) St. Pol Trois-Chatteux, in Dauphing.
(*k*) The coaſt of Provence. (*l*) It ſtood at the foot of the Alps Cottiæ.

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CHAP. XXXV. *In Continuation.*

AFTER that another body of Cænomani (*a*), under the conduct of Elitovius, following the paths of the former, passed the Alps by the same forest, with the assistance of Bellovisus, and settled in those places, which the Libici then possessed, where now we find the cities Brixia (*b*), and Verona (*c*). These again were followed by the Saluvii, who dwelt near the antient nation of the Lævi (*d*), and the Ligures (*e*), and settled upon the banks of the Tecin. Then the Boii (*f*), and Lingones (*g*) crossed the Pennine Alps, and having possessed themselves of all the countries between the Alps and the Po, passed that river in boats, and not only drove the Etrurians, but even the Umbrians (*h*) out of the country. They confined themselves however within the Appennines. Then the Senones (*i*), the last of all the new comers, possessed themselves of the countries lying between the rivers Montone and Fiumesino.

This was the nation, I find, that came first to Clusium, and thence to Rome; but I cannot say, whether they came alone, or assisted by all the other Cisalpine emigrants. The Clusians terrified at this new war, when they saw the number and extraordinary size of the enemy, and withal the kind of arms they used, at the same time, having often heard that the Etrurians had been often defeated by them, both on this and the other side of the Po; although they had no alliance with Rome, nor any claim to her friendship, if it were not, that they had not appeared in defence of the Vejentes, their kinsmen, against the Romans, sent ambassadors to Rome to sollicit assistance from the senate. In this however they did not succeed; but the three sons of Ambustus Fabius were sent ambassadors, to treat with the Gauls in name

(*a*) A people about Brescia. (*b*) Now Brescia. (*c*) Or, Cremona. (*d*) Inhabitants of Pavia and Novarra. (*e*) Inhabitants on the banks of the Loire. (*f*) Who inhabited the Bourbonois. (*g*) Who inhabited Langres. (*h*) Who possessed part of the dutchy of Urbin, of the territory of Perugia, the county of Citta Castellana, and most of the dutchy of Spoleto.
(*i*) From Sens and Auxerre.

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of the ſenate and people of Rome, and to repreſent, that they ought not to attack the friends and allies of the people of Rome, who never had injured them, and in whoſe defence, ſhould it prove neceſſary, they would be obliged to arm. But the moſt eligible alternative, was, if poſſible, to prevent it; and it would add more to the character of the Gauls, whoſe ſettlement there had been but of a ſhort ſtanding, to make themſelves known by the arts of peace, than their proweſs in war.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Total error of the Fabii.

THE embaſſy in itſelf had nothing irritating, but it was delivered in a tone, and with an air, which breathed more of the Gaulic fierceneſs, than of Roman politeneſs. Having delivered their commiſſion in a council of the Gauls, they had the following return. 'That the name of the Romans, was but little known 'to them, though they had no doubt of their bravery, 'ſince the Cluſians had thought proper to apply to them, 'in their danger. That as they had choſe rather to 'employ the methods of pacification, than their arms 'in defence of their allies, they, on their ſide, ſhould 'not reject the offered peace, provided the Cluſians, 'who had more land than they could well manage, 'would give up part of it to the Gauls, who needed it. 'Without this condition, all propoſals for peace were 'inadmiſſible. That they would be glad to receive 'their anſwer in preſence of the Roman ambaſſadors; 'and, in caſe of a refuſal, they would give them battle 'in preſence of the ſame Romans, that they might be 'able to ſay, upon their return, how much the Gauls 'are ſuperior to all mankind in bravery.'

Upon this, the ambaſſadors demanded to know, 'By 'what right, they could inſiſt on having land from its 'poſſeſſors, and if not granted, to threaten them with 'war? Beſides, what buſineſs had they in Tuſcany?' 'We carry our right,' replied they fiercely, 'in the 'points of our ſwords, the brave are lords of the world.' Both ſides were now highly exaſperated, and flew to

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their arms, and began the action. There, the ambassadors, the fates now pushing on the destruction of Rome, in direct contradiction to the law of nations, took up arms. Nor could this remain a secret, when three warriors of the greatest distinction and valour of all the Roman youth, fought at the head of the Etrurians: so conspicuously did the bravery of these strangers distinguish them from the Clusians. Moreover, Q. Fabius, riding up before the first line, and meeting one of the Gaulic commanders, who was rushing furiously upon the van of the Etrurians, run him through the side with his lance, and killed him on the spot. Whilst he was stripping off his spoils, he was known by the enemy, and the report immediately spread through the whole army, that it was one of the Roman ambassadors. From that moment, all hostilities ceased against the Clusians. A retreat was sounded, and nothing was heard but threats of vengeance against Rome.

Some were of opinion, that they should instantly march thither; but the advice of the elder in the council prevailed, who were of opinion, that they ought to begin by sending deputies to Rome, to complain of what had happened, and to require that the Fabii should be delivered into their hands, for having violated their character, and with it, the law of nations.

After the Gaulic deputies had thus delivered their commission, and made their demand, the senate were much dissatisfied with the conduct of the Fabii, and made no objection to the justice of what the Barbarians insisted on. But a vicious complaisance for young persons of their distinction, prevented the senators from determining what they thought no more than reasonable, on this occasion. Wherefore, that they might not be chargeable with the consequences, with which a rupture with the Gauls might be attended, they referred the affair to the decision of the people. There the power and influence of the delinquents prevailed so much, that far from punishing them, the people named them to the military tribuneship for the following year. The deputies, full of that indignation which may be easily conceived, returned, breathing only war and revenge. With the three Fabii, Q. Sulpicius Longus, Q. Servilius, a fourth

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time, and Ser. Cornelius Maluginenſis, were created military tribunes.

CHAP. XXXVII.

The Gauls march to Rome.

WHEN Rome was threatened with ſuch an inundation of miſery, ſhe did not, as was uſual, in the wars againſt the Fidenates, Vejentes, and other neighbouring ſtates, apply the laſt and moſt vigorous meaſure, in appointing a dictator; ſo much does fortune infatuate men, when ſhe is unwilling they ſhould avert her impending purpoſes, that in the preſent conjuncture, when an unknown and terrible enemy from the ocean and utmoſt verge of the earth, were advancing by rapid marches to attack her, Rome made no extraordinary effort, by appointing a ſupreme magiſtrate, or ſueing for foreign aid. The tribunes, whoſe raſhneſs had involved Rome in this war, preſided in every thing, ſpeaking lightly of the war, they made the levies with no more care, than was uſual, upon the moſt ordinary occaſions.

In the mean time, the Gauls, when they were informed that the violators of the law of nations, had been raiſed to the firſt dignities of the ſtate, and their embaſſy ſlighted, gave full vent to their paſſion, to which the nation is much addicted, immediatly pulled up their enſigns, and began their march with all expedition. When during their march, they obſerved the confuſion and terror of the cities through which they paſſed, as they ran to their arms, and the Peaſants flying before them, they called out aloud, that they were marching to Rome. Wherever they went, they made a very formidable appearance, as their numbers, both in horſe and foot, covered a vaſt tract of ground. The rapidity of their march, the news whereof, fame and couriers from Cluſium, and other ſtates, had brought to Rome before them, occaſioned a terrible conſternation there.

Troops were levied in haſte and without choice, and led out in great confuſion, which with difficulty came

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up with the enemy eleven miles from the city, where the river Allia rising out of the river Cruſtuminum, and running in a very deep channel, falls into the Tiber, a little below the Salarian high-way. The whole plain, both before and round them, was covered with enemies, and the Gauls, of whom a mighty bluſter is characteriſtical, by their barbarous ſongs and hideous howlings, made all about them reſound with a horrible noiſe.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

A battle. The Romans defeated.

THERE the military tribunes took no care, either to make choice of an advantageous poſt for their camp, or to fortify it with an intrenchment, to which they might retreat, *in caſe of a defeat;* and equally regardleſs of the Gods, as they had been deficient in human precaution, without auſpices, without ſacrifices, they drew up their army, extending the wings, that they might not be ſurrounded by the enemies numbers. But, although by extending their wings in that manner, they had thinned and weakened their centre to a great degree, yet ſtill their front fell ſhort of that of the enemy's. Upon their right was a ſmall eminence, where they thought proper to poſt a corps-de-reſerve; that circumſtance occaſioned their firſt fear and flight, and was the only means of ſecuring their retreat.

Brennus, the Gaulic general, having a ſtrong apprehenſion, that ſome deſign lay concealed in the ſmallneſs of the enemy's numbers; and imagining, that they had taken poſſeſſion of the height, with a view to attack him with this body of reſerve, both in rear and flank; the moment the front lines were engaged, thought it neceſſary to begin with charging the reſerved troops; convinced, if they were once diſlodged, with ſo great a ſuperiority in point of numbers, that he could eaſily obtain the victory in the open plain. Thus the Barbarians not only had fortune on their ſide, but the prudent conduct of an able commander.

In the other army, neither generals, nor ſoldiers ſhowed any thing of the Roman character. A ſudden

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panic and the thoughts of escaping, had arrested all their faculties: nay, so much were they lost to all reflection whatever, that by far the greater part fled to Veii, an enemy's capital, with the Tiber in their way, rather than streight to Rome, to their wives and children. The situation of the place, for some little time, contributed to the defence of the corps-de-reserve. But, whenever the rest of the army heard the shouts of the Gauls, which seemed to those who stood next, to have been raised from the flank, and to the most remote, from their rear, they fled in a body, without striking a stroke, or even returning the enemy's shout, and so far were they from feeling, that they had but barely seen this strange enemy. None of them fell in battle; but in the rout, where the crowd and hurry of the fugitives incumbered the flight, those in the rear, were cut to pieces. A great slaughter was made too on the banks of the Tiber, whither the whole left wing had retreated, after they had thrown down their arms, many who knew not how to swim, or could not, being weighed down by their coats of mail and other accoutrements, were swallowed up by the waves. The greatest part, however, got safe to Veii, from whence, they were so far from sending relief to Rome, that they never once thought of dispatching a courier with the news of their misfortune. The right wing, which was posted nearer the hill, and at a great distance from the river, marched all to Rome, and took refuge in the citadel, without staying to shut the gates of the city behind them.

CHAP. XXXIX.

The Gauls enter Rome. The flower of the Romans fly to the Citadel and Capitol.

A Victory so suddenly obtained, astonished the Gauls so much, that they considered it as something miraculous. At first awed by fear, they stood motionless, as if they had known nothing of what had happened. They still dreaded some ambuscade, but at last began to strip the slain, and pile up the arms, according to their custom. After all, when they saw nothing like

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in enemy appear, they ſet out for Rome, which they eached a little before ſun-ſet. When the horſe that vere detached before them, brought back word, that he gates were open, no guards poſted before them, nor iny ſoldiers on the walls, they conſidered it as a continuation of the ſame miracle; and not knowing what the night might bring forth, at the ſame time that they vere utter ſtrangers to the ſituation of the city, they ncamped between the Anio and the city, and ſent out couts round the walls and the gates of the city, to bring ntelligence of the enemy's deſigns, now that their ſituaion was extremely critical.

At Rome, as the greateſt part of the army had led to Veii, no-body imagining that one of them had ſcaped, but thoſe who had made good their retreat to ome, and the whole city lamenting the loſs of the liv- g, as well as the dead, there was nothing to be ſeen it tears and ſorrow; but when they were adviſed of ie enemy's approach, public fear ſoon ſuppreſt all pri- te concern. It was not long before they heard the rbarians roaring out their howlings and diſcordant tes, as they ſtrolled in troops round the city walls. ring all the time after, till next morning, they were the utmoſt ſuſpenſe, every moment expecting an attack uld be made upon the city, after the firſt approach the enemy to it: as it was highly probable, they uld not have ſtirred from Allia, but with that inten- . At ſun-ſet, as little light then remained, they e fully perſuaded, that they would take the advan- of the little they had before the night came on, when all was quiet during the evening, that they deferred their deſign to ſtrike the greater terror, ng the darkneſs of the night. At laſt the approach ay doubled their panic, which kept pace in progreſ- with the evil itſelf, till they ſaw the enemy's enſigns their gates. However, during that night, and lay following, the citizens acted with much greater riety than the army had done at Allia. For, when found that to defend the city, with ſo ſmall a force id been left in it, would be quite impracticable, reſolved, that all the youth, fit to bear arms, and ower of the ſenate, with their wives and children,

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should retire into the citadel and capitol: and having carried arms and provisions thither, defend their Gods, their fellow-citizens, and the Roman name, from these strong holds; whilst the priest of Romulus and the vestals carried off the sacred things and placed them out of the reach of fire and sword, being firmly resolved never to give over the worship of the Gods, whilst a single soul remained to perform it. For they thought, that if the citadel and capitol, the august abode of the gods, the senate that formed the public council of the state, and the youth of age, to bear arms, survived the ruin that impended the city, the loss of the old men, an useless number left in the city, that in course of nature would die at any rate, was not much to be regretted. To encourage those of inferior rank to acquiesce in this resolution, without murmuring, the superannuate consulars and triumphant generals declared publicly, that they would die with them: for, since their bodies were too weak to support the weight of arms, for the defence of their country, they ought not to be a burthen upon those who were armed for its preservation, and might soon be in want of provisions.

CHAP. XL.

The deep distress which ensued this battle.

IN this manner, did these old men, destined to death, encourage and console each other. Then addressing themselves to the young men, and following them all the way to the citadel and capitol, pathetically recommended, 'To their bravery, and youthful vigour, the fortune of 'what yet remained of a city, that in all its wars had 'been victorious, for three hundred and sixty years.' But when the moment came that was to separate the champions of the captive city, from those who were determined not to survive its ruin, deep was the distress which that scene exhibited; and it was rendered still more affecting, by the weeping and lamentations of the women, distractedly running they knew not whither, from their husbands to their sons, and from their sons to their husbands, asking now these, now those, 'whose

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'fate they ſhould ſhare.' In ſhort, never was human miſery repreſented in more likely colours. A great part of the women, however, followed their friends into the citadel, who though they were not invited, met with no oppoſition; becauſe, of whatever conſequence it might have been to the beſieged, to have been freed from an uſeleſs multitude, it was quite inconſiſtent with humanity to ſhut them out. The remaining multitude, conſiſting chiefly of the populace, too numerous to be lodged in a fortreſs that ſtood on ſo ſmall a hill, or to be maintained there in ſo great a ſcarcity, left the city in crouds, and took their way in a body towards the Janiculum. From thence, they diſperſed themſelves partly about the country, and partly among the neighbouring cities, having neither leader to conduct them, nor any concerted ſcheme to follow, each of them following his own hopes and particular views, the public intereſt being now given up for loſt.

In the mean time, the prieſt of Romulus, and the veſtals, dropping all concern about their private affairs, conſulted together, what ſacred things they ſhould carry away, and as they could not take the whole, what they ſhould leave behind, and where theſe precious depoſites might be moſt ſafely lodged. At laſt, they concluded it would be beſt to pack them in ſmall caſks, and bury them in a chapel, next to the houſe of the prieſt of Romulus, where now it is reckoned unlawful to ſpit. What was to be carried away, they divided among them, and each with his burden, took the road by the bridge, Sulpicius leading to the Janiculum.

As L. Albinus, a Plebeian, was drawing his wife and children in a waggon, among the reſt of the croud, who could have been of no uſe in the defence of the city, he obſerving the veſtals on the ſide of a hill, notwithſtanding the neceſſity of the times, forgot not the reſpect due to things divine; for thinking it moſt prepoſterous, that he ſhould be ſeen in a carriage with his family, whilſt the public prieſts of the Roman people were on foot, carrying the ſacred things, he ordered out his wife and children, and placing the veſtals with their ſacred burdens in the waggon, drove them to Cære, the place of their deſtination.

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CHAP. XLI.

Reſolution and maſſacre of the aged Senators.

IN the mean time, every thing for the defence of the citadel being diſpoſed at Rome, in the beſt manner poſſible, conſidering the preſent exigency, the venerable company of ſuperannuated patriots returned to their houſes, there to wait with ſteady reſolution, the coming of the enemy and death. Such of them as had borne curule magiſtracies, that they might die adorned with the enſigns of their former dignity, honours, and gallantry, dreſſed themſelves in their moſt magnificent robes, which they uſed to wear in the proceſſions of their gods, and in their triumphs, ſeating themſelves in their ivory chairs, in the middle of their halls. We find in ſome authors, that theſe ancients firſt devoted themſelves for their country, and the Roman people, by a vow which M. Fabius, the high prieſt, adminiſtered in form.

The Gauls, as the intervention of a whole night, had given time to the fury with which they were agitated in the late action to ſubſide, and as they had met with little or no reſiſtance from the Romans, nor even now put to the neceſſity of an aſſault to take the city, entered it next day, without any ſigns of violent paſſion or reſentment, by the gate Collina, moving on to the forum, and caſting their eyes on all ſides to the temples of the Gods, and the citadel, where alone they could obſerve the leaſt appearance of reſiſtance. Then poſting a ſmall guard, to prevent any ſally from the citadel or capitol, when they might be diſperſed through the city, they went about in plundering parties, and finding the ſtreets quite empty, and not meeting a ſingle ſoul, they ruſhed in bodies into the adjoining houſes, whilſt others flew to the moſt remote, imagining they had never been touched, and conſequently full of booty. Struck with terror at the general deſolation, they returned in a body to the forum, and the adjoining places, fearing they might, when diſperſed, fall into ſome ambuſcade. Here finding the houſes of the Plebeians ſhut, but the halls of the nobility open, they heſitated more upon entering the laſt

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than the first, keeping at an awful distance from those venerable sages, sitting in the porches of their houses, in dress and attitude appearing with an air of greatness above human, and in the awful majesty of their looks, and gravity of their deportment, perfectly resembling the Gods. When they had stood sometime gazing as at so many statues, one of these ancients, M. Papirius, is said to have provocked a Gaul, by breaking his head with a smart blow of his ivory trunchion, for using the freedom of stroking his beard, which was then permitted to grow to a great length. He was the first victim, and the rest were all killed where they sat. The Gauls, after this massacre, gave no quarter; and having cleared the houses of their contents, immediately set them on fire.

CHAP. XLII.

Rome set on fire. Melancholy scene.

THE first day, the devastation among the houses by the fire, was not so general as might have been expected in a city taken by the enemy: either the Gauls had no intention to destroy the city entirely †, or, by letting the Romans see part of the city in flames, the Gaulic chiefs meant to terrify them, and so engage them to surrender out of regard to their houses, and not to set the whole in flames, that the hopes of saving the remainder, might bend the proud hearts of the enemy. The Romans observing from the citadel, how the city swarmed with enemies, and following all their motions with their eyes, as they run dispersed all over the streets, were every moment struck with new matter of regret, and unable to stand the shock of what they saw and heard, were quite distracted.

Wherever the shouts of the enemy, the shrieks of women and children, the glare of the flames, or the crash of falling-houses, denounced some new disaster, thither they turned their eyes, their faces, and attention, as if fortune had placed them on the top of an eminence, ex-

† Read, *Omnis delendæ urbis*, &c.

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preſſy to be the ſad ſpectators of the ruin of their country; having nothing left them now of all that belonged to them, but their bodies to defend. Their caſe was more deplorable than that of any other beſieged, for they were ſhut up from the relief of their country, whilſt, at the ſame time, they ſaw every thing they could have called their own, in the hands of the enemy.

This firſt day, ſo full of trouble, was followed by a night no leſs terrible. And when this reſtleſs night gave place to a new day, ſome new tragical ſcene was every moment exhibited before them. However, overwhelmed and oppreſſed as they were, with ſuch a complication of miſeries, they ſtill continued inflexible, and although they ſaw the whole city in flames and levelled with the ground, they were determined to defend to their lateſt breath, the poor little hill, which they yet could call their own, being the only ſpot that was reſerved for liberty. The continual view of ſo dreadful a ſcene, which was every day repeated before their eyes, had inured them, in a manner, to their calamities, ſo that they became inſenſible of their poignancy; regarding only their arms, and the ſwords in their right hands, as the only hope and reſource, on which, from thenceforth, they were to depend.

CHAP. XLIII.

The Gauls diſappointed. Turn the ſiege into a blockade. Camillus at Ardea.

THE Gauls, on their ſide, who for ſome days had carried on an ineffectual war againſt the houſes, and ſeeing nothing now remaining of the captive city, after the flames and ruins, but the enemy ſtill in arms, neither terrified with ſo many calamities, nor in the leaſt diſpoſed to ſurrender, unleſs compelled, reſolved to make the laſt experiment, and attack the citadel in form. Having, therefore, given the ſignal by the morning's dawn, they drew up their whole army in the forum: after which, they advanced to the hill with great cries, covering their heads with their ſhields, in

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the form of tortoiſes. The Romans, without trouble or confuſion, having poſted guards on all the avenues, and diſpoſed their beſt troops againſt the attack, ſuffered the enemy to aſcend, concluding that the higher they advanced, the more eaſy it would be to drive them down the ſteep declivity. Accordingly, they ſtoped ſhort in the middle of the deſcent, and having the advantage of an eminence, which ſeemed to be calculated by nature for annoying the enemy, they fell upon the Gauls with great impetuoſity, and drove them back tumbling one above another, with ſuch ſlaughter, as prevented them from making a ſecond attempt, either with detachments, or the whole of their army.

Wherefore, finding it impracticable to carry the city by aſſault, they turned the ſiege into a blockade. This had never come in their heads before, for all the corn in the city, had periſhed in the general conflagration, and the Romans took care to carry all that could be found in the country, into Veii. Wherefore, the Gauls having divided their army, employed part of them to forage in the neighbourhood, whilſt the reſt remained to continue the blockade, truſting for proviſions to their foraging parties.

In their excurſions, they found an opportunity of putting the Roman bravery to the teſt. For, chance led them to Ardea, whither Camillus had retired. This great man, more affected with the calamities of his country, than its ingratitude to himſelf, after he had exhauſted himſelf, accuſing Gods and men, wondering with indignation, what had become of theſe men, who under his command had taken Veii and Falerii, and who, in other wars, had never been deficient in point of bravery, however unſucceſsful, was ſurpriſed with the news, that an army of the Gauls were on their way thither, about which the Ardeates, in the utmoſt conſternation, were deliberating upon the meaſures proper to be taken. Hitherto he had not appeared in their public councils, but upon this occaſion, excited, as it were, by a divine impulſe, preſented himſelf in the heart of their aſſembly, and ſpoke to the following purpoſe.

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CHAP. XLIV.

Camillus addreſſes the Ardeans.

'PEOPLE of Ardea, my old friends, though but of late my fellow-citizens, to your kindneſs I 'owe the firſt; to my fate, I owe the laſt: I hope, none 'of you will think that I forget my condition, when I 'appear thus in your aſſembly: but the preſent occur-'rence and the common danger, calls upon every one 'to do his utmoſt to provide againſt it. And, indeed, 'when will it be in my power to evidence my gratitude, 'for the important favours you have conferred on me, 'if not at preſent? It is in war alone, I can be of uſe 'to you. It was by that I ſupported my credit in my 'own country. When in war I was invincible, I was 'baniſhed by my ungrateful countrymen in time of 'peace. As for you, my friends of Ardea, fortune pre-'ſents you with a fair opportunity of making a ſuitable 'return to the people of Rome, for the obligations you 'ly under to them, which, as you remember them well, 'it would be uſing you ill to recapitulate; at the ſame 'time, that you will acquire immortal glory, by giving 'a check to the common enemy. On that people, 'who are advancing this way in ſtraggling parties, na-'ture has beſtowed enormity of ſize, and impetuoſity of 'courage, rather than firmneſs of body, or conſtancy 'of mind; and in conſequence, they carry with them 'more terror than force to battle. Can their be a 'ſtronger proof, than their victory over the Romans? 'The city was open to them when they took it. From 'the citadel and capitol, they have been repelled by a 'handful of men. Now wearied out with the length 'of the blockade, they abandon it, and diſperſe them-'ſelves all over the country; glutted with meat and 'drink, which they greedily devour, aſſoon as night 'comes on, they ly down like beaſts, along the ſides of 'rivers, without intrenchments, guards, or ſentinels; 'and their late ſucceſs, ſerves only to augment their 'uſual negligence. If, therefore, you would defend 'your walls, and prevent this whole country from falling 'into the hands of theſe barbarians, arm by midnight,

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'and follow me, not to a battle, but to a certain slaugh-
'ter. If I deliver them not into your hands, fast asleep
'to be butchered at your pleasure, like so many beasts,
'I consent to be treated at Ardea, as I have been at
'Rome.'

CHAP. XLV.

A party of the Gauls surprized by Camillus. The Soldiers at Veii surprize the Tuscans.

EVERY body, whether well or ill affected to Camillus, was fully convinced that he was the greatest captain of his time; so that after the assembly broke up, they took the necessary refreshment, and set themselves to watch where the signal should be given, when Camillus, after all was dark and silent, found them ready at the gates, and put himself at their head. When they had gone a little out of town, they found the camp of the Gauls open and unguarded on all sides, just as he had told them would be the case, and attacked it with prodigious shouts. There was no fighting, but a terrible slaughter every where. Naked as they were born, and fast asleep they were all butchered without resistance. Those that lay at the greatest distance started up in a fright, and being totally ignorant whence or by whom they were attacked, some took to their heels, whilst others threw themselves inadventently into the enemy's way. A great part of them escaped into the country of Antium, where they were set upon by the inhabitants and cut to pieces.

The Tuscans were served in the same manner, in the territory of Veii. This people, far from commiserating the misfortune of a city, settled almost four hundred years in their neighbourhood, oppressed by a strange and unheard-of enemy, made incursions at that very time upon the Roman territories, and loaded with booty, had laid a plan for attacking Veii, the only asylum, and last resource of the Roman name. The Roman soldiers had observed how they were ranging through the country, and driving the booty before their main body, at the same time that they had their camp not

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far from Veii. At firſt, the melancholy ſtate of their own affairs, threw a damp on their ſpirits; but it ſoon gave way to indignation, which immediately kindled in their minds the higheſt reſentment. 'What! *ſaid they*, 'do the Etrurians too, from whom we turned the arms 'of the Gauls upon ourſelves, inſult us in our adverſity?'

Nothing could have given them greater pleaſure than to have attacked them that moment, but by the advice of Cædicius, a centurion, whom they had choſen for their leader, they ſuſpended the buſineſs till night. The name and authority of Camillus were all that were wanting on this occaſion; all the reſt was conducted with great propriety and good ſucceſs. The priſoners, who had ſurvived that night's ſlaughter, conducted them to another body of Etrurians, encamped at the ſalt-pits, of whom, before they dreamed of their danger, they made ſtill a greater ſlaughter the next night. With this double victory they returned exulting and triumphant to Veii.

CHAP. XLVI.

Reſolution of a young Roman. Camillus recalled, and created Dictator, heads the army at Veii.

IN the mean time, the ſiege of Rome went on, but ſlowly, both ſides remaining inactive. Whilſt the Gauls were ſolely intent upon preventing any one of the enemy to quit the place by paſſing their guards, a young Roman, all of a ſudden drew on himſelf the admiration, as well of the enemy, as of his fellow citizens. There was a ſacrifice peculiar to the Fabian family, which could be performed no where, but on the Quirinal hill. For this purpoſe, C. Fabius Dorſo came down from the capitol, having his gown tucked up, and the ſacred things in his hands, paſſed through the enemy's guards; and without regard to their threats or noiſe, got ſafe to the Quirinal hill. Having performed there all the neceſſary ceremonies, he returned the ſame way, with the ſame gravity of air and geſture, to the capitol, in full confidence of the protection of thoſe Gods, whoſe worſhip he had preſerved even at the riſque of his life. The Gauls were either aſtoniſhed at his ſurpriſing bold-

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neſs, or moved with a ſenſe of religion, which they by no means neglect.

In the mean time, the army at Veii not only gained freſh ſpirits, but were every day conſiderably re-inforced, not only by many Romans, who had been diſperſed up and down the country, after the defeat at Allia, and the capture of Rome, but alſo by crouds of Latin volunteers, who joined them, that they might come in for their ſhare of the ſpoil. Now, they concluded, was the time to deliver their country, and deliver it out of the hands of the enemy: but though they were a formidable party, they had none among them able to take the command.

The place itſelf reminded them of Camillus; beſides that a great part of that very army had fought ſucceſſively under the command and auſpices of that great captain. Cædicius proteſted, 'That he would do no-'thing to provoke either gods or men to put an end to 'his command, but not forgetful of his rank, he would 'himſelf demand a general.' It was unanimouſly agreed to ſend for Camillus from Ardea, but not before they had conſulted the ſenate at Rome; ſuch was their regard to propriety, and to the order preſcribed by law, in all things, even at a time when the Republic was on the brink of ruin. To paſs through the enemy's guards to the citadel, was a dangerous attempt. Pontius Cominius, however, a ſprightly young fellow, promiſed to do his beſt in the buſineſs; and laying himſelf on the bark of a tree, was carried ſafely down the current of the Tiber to the city. By a ſteep rock, on the other ſide next the river, which the enemy thought unneceſſary to guard, he got up with difficulty to the Capitol.

He was brought before the magiſtrates, and delivered his commiſſion from the army. Having then got the ſenate's decree, ordaining, 'That Camillus ſhould, by an act of the comitia aſſembled by curiæ, be recalled 'from baniſhment; and by authority of the people, be 'immediately appointed dictator, at the ſame time, that 'the army ſhould have the general they deſired.' Returning the ſame way, he poſted to Veii with the news; whence commiſſioners were ſent to Camillus at Ardea, who conducted him to Veii: or rather an act repealing

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his baniſhment, was paſſed in the comitia aſſembled by curiæ, and he declared dictator in his abſence; for it is more likely, that he did not move from Ardea, till he had certain advices of the act paſſed by the ſenate; becauſe he could not change the place of his retreat, without the voices of the people, nor take the auſpices regularly in the army, in order to their entering upon action, till he was appointed dictator.

CHAP. XLVII.

An attempt of the Gauls fruſtrated by the gallantry of Manlius.

DURING theſe tranſactions at Veii, the citadel and capitol of Rome, were in extreme danger. The Gauls, whether they had obſerved the impreſſions of a man's feet, in that place where the meſſenger from Veii had climbed the rock, or of themſelves had diſcovered that it was acceſſible by the rock Carmentalis, it is certain, that one night, when it was pretty clear, they firſt ſent a man before to examine the way, without his arms, which they afterwards handed up to him; and where it was ſteep, they ſupported, lifted, and lent each other a hand, as the difficulty of the place required, till they had reached the top. This they did with ſo much ſilence, that neither the centinels, nor even the dogs, animals that are apt to ſtir at the leaſt noiſe in the night time, were in the leaſt alarmed. But they did not eſcape unnoticed by the geeſe, which being ſacred to Juno, the Romans, in all their ſcarcity of proviſions, had preſerved alive. This ſaved the Capitol. For by their gagling and beating their wings, they raiſed M. Manlius, a great ſoldier, who had been conſul three years before; he ſnatching up his arms, and ſpreading the alarm, flew to the rampart, and whilſt the reſt were in a mighty conſternation, with the boſs of his buckler, he beat back a Gaul, who had by that time reached the top of the battlement, and he, in his fall, tumbled down thoſe who were next him, whilſt Manlius killed others, who throwing down their arms in the utmoſt terror, hung by their hands on the rocks. By this time too,

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others had crowded to the place, and with stones and darts precipitated the rest, so that the whole of these adventurers tumbled headlong from the top to the bottom of the rock.

When the confusion was over, the rest of the night was devoted to repose, as far as could be enjoyed after such an alarm, and solicitude for the danger that was past. Early next morning, the military tribunes assembled the troops by sound of trumpet, in order to dispense rewards and punishments, as merit, or demerit should appear. First of all, Manlius was praised for his noble exertions; and had presents, not only from the military tribunes, but from all the soldiers; for each of them carried to his house, which stood in the citadel, half a pound of meal, and a measure of wine containing five ounces. A reward, considerable only, as it was a singular proof of their affection, when in the extreme scarcity of provisions, they could part with their very living, to do honour to the merit of one man.

The centinels on that post, where the enemy had escaped their vigilance and climbed up the rock, were called upon next; and though Sulpicius, the military tribune, sentenced them all to die according to the laws of military discipline, yet as all the soldiers laid the blame upon one centinel, he was afraid of a mutiny, and so respited the rest. With the approbation of the whole, he who was undeniably in the wrong, was thrown over the rock. From thenceforth, the guards were kept on both sides with more attention. On the part of the Gauls, because it was commonly talked, that a correspondence was kept up between Rome and Veii; and on that of the Romans, from a retrospect of the danger they had escaped in the night.

CHAP. XLVIII.

Pestilence. Famine. A Compromise.

BUT now famine began to distress both parties, more than all the calamities consequent on the siege or the war. Add to this, that a pestilential distemper raged among the Gauls, who were encamped in

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a valley between two hills, rendered exceſſively hot by the flames of the houſes, and ſmoke iſſuing from them, at the ſame time, that the leaſt blaſt of wind, made not only the duſt, but the aſhes inſupportable. The Gauls who had been accuſtomed to a moiſt and cold climate, could not ſupport under theſe inconveniences, but oppreſſed with the exceſſive heat, and a lowneſs of ſpirits, they died like rotten ſheep; inſomuch, that they could no longer be troubled with burying them one by one, but piled them up in heaps promiſcuouſly, and ſet fire to them at once; rendering the place famous, by the name of the Gauls burying-place.

After this, a ſuſpenſion of arms was agreed on by both parties, during which, by permiſſion of the generals, the troops had frequent intercourſe together; and whilſt the Gauls inſiſted principally on the ſhort allowance to which the beſieged were reduced, and adviſed them to ſurrender on that account; to remove ſuch thoughts, it is ſaid, they threw loaves from the capitol, at different places, into the poſts of the enemy.

But, by this time, the famine had riſen to ſuch an height, that it could neither be concealed, nor endured any longer. Therefore, whilſt the dictator was levying troops in perſon at Ardea, having diſpatched L. Valerius, general of the horſe, to march the troops from Veii, and was making every preparation to act on the offenſive with the enemy; the army in the capitol, quite exhauſted with hard duty and watching; though they had bravely ſurmounted all other human obſtacles, againſt the cravings of nature, their courage could furniſh them with no antidote, and being every moment on the watch for aſſiſtance from the dictator, at length their hopes failed them with their proviſions, whilſt their enfeebled bodies ſunk under the preſſure of their arms as they mounted guard, inſiſted abſolutely to ſurrender, or to ranſom themſelves as they beſt could; more eſpecially as the Gauls gave ſtrong hints in their diſcourſe, that they would raiſe the ſiege for an inconſiderable ranſom.

The ſenate met, and impowered the military tribunes to negotiate an accommodation; which was concluded between Q. Sulpicius, the military tribune, and Bren-

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aus, general of the Gauls, and the ranſom of a people, deſtined one day to command the univerſe was fixed at one thouſand pound weight of gold *. This capitulation was too diſgraceful to require any addition, but the Gauls improved upon the indignity. They brought falſe weights, and when the tribune objected to them, the king inſultingly added his ſword which he threw into the ſcale, expreſſing himſelf in theſe words; 'Wo to 'the conquered,' a phraſe of all others the moſt ſhocking to a Roman ear.

CHAP. XLIX.

Camillus changes the face of affairs.

BUT neither Gods nor men, would permit the Romans to live on the terms of a ranſomed people. For fortune had ſo ordered it, that before this infamous ranſom was all paid down, their wrangling having taken up ſome time, the dictator made his appearance, and ordered the money to be taken away, and the Gauls to be gone. When they objected, pleading the capitulation ſigned between them, he replied, that no treaty concluded with a magiſtrate of inferior authority, without his participation, from the moment he was declared dictator, could be valid, and then told them, they might prepare for battle.

His own troops he ordered to throw their baggage in a heap, and ſtand to their arms, for with ſteal, and not with gold, they were now to redeem their country, fighting in view of the temples of their Gods, in ſight of their wives and children, and in their native ſoil, diſfigured as it was by the calamities of war, and in the midſt of all that ought to be defended, recovered, or revenged. He then drew up his army in the beſt order of battle poſſible, amidſt the ruins of the city, and on uneven ground, and took all the precautions that military ſkill could ſuggeſt to inſure ſucceſs.

The Gauls, confounded at this revolution, run to their arms, and ruſhed againſt the Romans with more

* Forty-five thouſand Pound ſterling.

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fury than prudence. Affairs now wore quite a different aſpect, for the protection of the Gods and human wiſdom united in favour of the Romans. For which reaſon, the Gauls were defeated at the firſt charge, with the ſame eaſe they had conquered at the battle of Allia.

They were a ſecond time routed ſtill more completely under the conduct and auſpices of the ſame Camillus, eight miles from Rome, on the Gabinian way, whether they had fled. There the ſlaughter was total, their camp taken, and not a ſoul eſcaped to carry home the melancholy news of their diſaſter.

Thus the dictator having recovered his country from the enemy, returned in triumph to Rome, and the ſoldiers in their rough jollity, recogniſed him a ſecond Romulus, the founder of a new Rome, eulogiums which he moſt certainly deſerved. But this was not all. His country which he reſcued from the enemy, he a ſecond time ſaved from its friends. For he prevented the people from removing to Veii, though the tribunes made greater efforts to promote that emigration, after the city was burnt, and the people themſelves more devoted to the project, than ever they had been before. For this reaſon, he did not abdicate the dictatorſhip after his triumph, but at the importunity of the ſenate, deſerted not the republic, whilſt its unſettled ſtate required his ſuperintendence.

CHAP. L.

Regulations after the expulſion of the Gauls.

FIRST of all, as he was exceedingly ſtrict in whatever regarded religion, he took under conſideration, what related to the worſhip of the Gods, and obtained a decree of the ſenate; 'That all the temples, 'as they had been in the enemy's poſſeſſion, ſhould be 're-eſtabliſhed, bounded, and purified; and that the 'duumvirs, who had charge of the ſybilline books, 'ſhould be conſulted about the proper mode of puri'fication. That by public authority, a league of

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'hospitality should be made with the people of Cære †, 'who had given a safe retreat to the Roman priests and 'sacred things, and by whose favour, the worship of 'the immortal Gods, had suffered no interruption. 'That the Capitoline games, should be celebrated in 'honour of Jupiter, the best and greatest, who in all 'the misfortunes that had happened, had preserved his 'august abode, and the citadel of Rome; and that the 'dictator Camillus, should constitute a college of per-'sons, chosen from among the inhabitants of the capitol 'and citadel, to superintend that affair.'

It was also moved, that expiation should likewise be made, for the neglect of the miraculous voice heard in the night, which gave warning of the impending calamity, before any war with the Gauls was thought of, and a temple ordered to be erected to *Aius Locutius* *, in the New Street. It was likewise ordered, that the gold which had been rescued from the Gauls, and that which in their greatest danger had been taken out of the other temples, and conveyed to the chapel of Jupiter, should be deemed sacred, and deposited at his shrine, because in their confusion, they could not recollect the places to which it ought to be returned.

The religion of the Romans had before been conspicuous, in the behaviour of the ladies, when the public was at a loss to make up the stipulated ransom to the Gauls, in supplying that deficiency, that the sacred treasure might not be touched; for which act of generosity, they had thanks returned them, and moreover, the honour decreed them, of having funeral orations pronounced over them after their death, as well as the men. After the duties of religion, and such things as could be transacted by means of the senate, had been performed, the tribunes began, in their daily harrangues to resume the old plea, and urge the people to abandon Rome in ruins, and remove to Veii, a city ready built and furnished, when Camillus appeared in the assembly of the people, attended by the whole body of the senate, and spoke to the following effect.

† Hence, Cæremonia, from *Care* and *manere*.
* The speaking God.

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CHAP. LI. *Speech of Camillus.*

"DISPUTES with the tribunes, gentlemen, are "so insupportable to me, that the only consola- "tion I had, whilst I lived a miserable exile at Ardea, "was to consider myself out of the reach of these cavils: "for which express reason, I was resolved never more "to set a foot in this city, had I not been recalled by a "decree of the senate, and your suffrages. Neither is "it owing to any change in my opinion, that I am now "returned; the situation of your affairs obliged me to "it. The question was not to replace myself in Rome, "but to reinstate Rome itself upon the seat of its em- "pire. And at this instant, nothing would give me "greater pleasure, than to remain quiet, and be silent, "were not this too a struggle in behalf of my country, "to abandon which, would be shameful in any other, "but in Camillus, criminal to the last degree, while any "spark of life remains. For what occasion had we to "recover, or wrest this our city when besieged out of the "hands of the Barbarians, if after all our exertions, we "ourselves should abandon it?. When the Gods and the "Roman people held, by actual possession, the capitol "and citadel, whilst all the rest of the city together fell "a sacrifice to the victorious Gauls; shall we now, when "conquerors, after all we have done to recover this city, "abandon also the capitol and citadel, and our prospe- "rity be the cause of a greater desolation in Rome, than "even our adversity. If indeed these religious rites, "which were instituted and handed down to us from "the foundation of the city, were to be totally disre- "garded by us, yet the protection of the Gods, hath "been so strongly marked to us in the present instance, "that for men to neglect the worship of the Gods, were, "in my opinion, absolutely impossible. Only look back "upon what has happened to us, good or bad, for some "years past, and you will see evidently, that every thing "has succeeded with us, when submissive and dutiful "to the Gods, and every thing unfortunate, when we "despised them.

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'First of all, let us take a review of the war with Veii, 'which continued for so many years, with incredible 'fatigue, and was never brought to a conclusion, till 'by the advice of the Gods, the water was drawn off 'from the Alban Lake. And what, after all, shall I 'say of the fatal blow which Rome lately received? 'That did not happen till we had been forewarned by 'a miraculous voice, that the Gauls were coming, which 'we slighted; nor till the law of nations had been vio-'lated by our ambassadors, and we, regardless of our 'duty to the Gods, showed an unpardonable remissness 'in punishing them. This, therefore, is the source of 'all we have suffered from Gods and men: we have 'been conquered, enslaved, and ransomed, as examples 'to all the world. Our misfortunes, at that time, put 'us in mind of the duties of religion. We fled to the 'capitol, to throw ourselves upon the protection of the 'Gods; we sat down in the august abode of Jupiter, 'the greatest and the best. Amidst the general devasta-'tion, some of our sacred things we concealed under 'ground, and others we carried to the neighbouring 'cities, where our enemies could not come at them. 'Though thus abandoned by heaven and earth, we 'never omitted the worship of the Gods; and what is 'the consequence? Why, they have restored us our 'country, victory, the Roman name, and military glo-'ry, which we had forfeited. And, as for the enemy, 'who blinded with their avarice, had broke their faith 'and the capitulation in weighing the gold, they struck 'them with terror, put them to flight, and delivered 'them up to certain slaughter.

CHAP. LII. *In Continuation.*

'NOW having before our eyes, so many monu-'ments of the good and evil occasioned by our 'respect or contempt of the Gods, do you perceive, 'gentlemen, into what an abyss of crimes, scarce escap-'ed, as we are, from the wreck of our faults and mis-'fortunes, we are now going to plunge ourselves? We 'inhabit a city, built in consequence of auspices and 'auguries. There is not a single spot in it, where you

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will not perceive legible traces of the Gods and religion. Nay, the very places for performing our moſt ſolemn ſacrifices, are as fixed, as the days for their celebration. Would you then, my fellow-citizens, abandon all theſe Gods, both public and private? How very different does this ſcheme of yours appear, from what was acted by the noble youth, C. Fabius, to the admiration of the enemy as well as yours, who came down from the citadel, amidſt the darts of the enemy, and performed a religious ceremony, upon the Quirinal hill, peculiar to the Fabian family? Is it criminal in a private family to neglect the performance of religious duties in time of war; and do you think it can be lawful for a whole community to abandon their public ſacred rites, and their very Gods in time of peace? For the prieſts and flamens to be leſs ſtrict in the performance of the public ceremonies of religion, than for a private perſon, of thoſe peculiar to his family?

'But, perhaps it may be alledged, that theſe ceremonies may be performed at Veii, or prieſts ſent from thence to perform them. But neither of theſe can be done, without a violation of our ceremonies. For, not to mention all the ſacred ceremonies, or the Gods, ſpecifically; in the feſtival of Jupiter, can the bed be ſpread any where elſe, but in the capitol? Need I mention the eternal fire of Veſta, and the ſtatue ſafely preſerved in her temple, as a pledge of empire? Need I mention your Ancilia, or Mars Gradivus, and father Romulus? And, would you have all theſe ſacred things, which were co-eval with the city, and ſome of them of a date much more ancient, to be abandoned in a profane place? Only mark the difference between our anceſtors and us. They tranſmitted to us a tradition, that ſome of our ſolemnities ſhould be performed upon Mount Alba and Lavinium.

'Now, was it an act of devotion to bring religious ceremonies from hoſtile cities to ourſelves at Rome, and ſhall we, without involving ourſelves in the guilt of ſacrilege, carry them hence to Veii, a hoſtile city? Will you only call to mind, how often our ſacred ce-

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'remonies have been performed a-new, becauſe ſome 'antient regulation, either through careleſsneſs or ac-'cident, had been omitted. What other circumſtance 'was it of late, after the prodigy of the Alban lake, 'but the renewing of the ſacred auſpices, that relieved 'the commonwealth, oppreſſed as it was with the war 'with Veii? Add to all this, mindful as it were, of our 'antient religious inſtitutions, we have both brought 'foreign gods to Rome, and alſo eſtabliſhed new ones: 'Juno, queen of the gods, was lately brought from Veii; 'and how conſpicuous was the day of her dedication 'rendered, by the meritorious zeal of the ladies? We 'have ordered a temple to be erected to Aius Locutius, 'on account of the miraculous voice heard in the New 'Street. To other ſolemnities, we have added the Ca-'pitoline games; and by authority of the ſenate have 'eſtabliſhed a new college for that purpoſe: What oc-'caſion had we for all this work, if we had been deter-'mined to leave the city at the ſame time with the 'Gauls? If our ſtay in the Capitol, during a ſiege of 'ſo many months, was not voluntary? If it was not 'fear that kept us back from the enemy?

'But do I only mention rites and temples, and leave 'the prieſts entirely out of the queſtion? Do you not 'perceive how much we ſhall have to account for with 'reſpect to them. The veſtals are fixed to one parti-'cular reſidence, from which, no conſideration but the 'capture of the city, ever moved them. The prieſt of 'Jupiter, without the groſſeſt criminality, dare not ſleep 'one night out of the city. Would you make them 'Vejentian, inſtead of Roman prieſts? And, O Veſta, 'ſhall thy veſtals forſake thee now? And will the prieſt 'of Jupiter, by reſiding among ſtrangers, involve in ſo 'much guilt, himſelf and his country every night? 'Need I mention other things, which are performed by 'auſpices, generally within the pomœrium; muſt they 'too be forgotten or neglected? The comitia by curiæ, 'who have the cognizance of military affairs; the co-'mitia by centuries, by whom our conſuls and military 'tribunes are elected, can they be held any where, un-'der proper auſpices, but in the uſual place? Shall we 'transfer them to Veii? Or, ſhall the people, under a

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'a thousand inconveniencies, meet in a city abandoned 'by gods and men?

CHAP. LIII. *In Continuation.*

'BUT it may be said, that necessity obliges us to 'quit a city in ruins, and reduced to ashes, and 'to take refuge in Veii, where we shall find all conve- 'niencies, without harrassing the poor people with re- 'building Rome. Were I not to tell you that this is a 'vain pretext, a mere allegation, I am certain you 'must see it: For some of you, gentlemen, must re- 'member, that before the arrival of the Gauls, when 'all the buildings, public and private, were whole and 'entire, and Rome in absolute safety, this same affair, 'of removing to Veii, was in agitation. But to show 'you, tribunes, in what different points of view, this 'matter appears to you and to me. You think, though 'great objections might have been made at that time, 'that now there can be none. On the contrary, it is 'my opinion, nor need you be surprized till you have 'heard me out, although we might have left the city, 'before it had suffered from the rude touches of the 'Gauls, that in honour we cannot leave these ruins 'now. For, at that time, our victory furnished us with 'some pretence for removing to a city we had just con- 'quered, as it was cause of boasting to ourselves and 'posterity; but to remove thither now, would be for us, 'mean and shameful in the extreme, but to the Gauls 'it would do singular credit. For it would by no means 'appear, that we had left our country when victorious, 'but that we had lost it when conquered. To the de- 'feat at Allia, the capture of Rome, and the blockade 'of the Capitol, may be justly ascribed the sad alterna- 'tive of abandoning our tutelary Gods, of flying and 'banishing ourselves from a place we could not defend. 'Have the Gauls been able to demolish Rome, and shall 'it be thought that the Romans are not able to re-build 'it? What then remains, but that you tamely suffer 'these very Gauls, whose numbers are incredible, to 'return, if they please, with a new army, and take pos-

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'session of this city, which they have taken and you abandoned?

'But if the Gauls have no such intention, what if the Æqui and Volsci, your former enemies, should remove to Rome? Would you wish them to become Romans, whilst you were only Burgher's of Veii? Whether would you choose, that Rome should be a desert in your own possession, or be inhabited by your enemies? Of two alternatives so unaccountable, it is hard to say which is the more criminal. Would you really involve yourselves in so much guilt, and expose yourselves to such infamy, only to save you the trouble of rebuilding the city? If in all the city, a house larger or more handsome could not be raised, than the cottage which served our Founder for a palace of old, would it not be more honourable to dwell in huts like shepherds and herdsmen, amidst your household gods, and the temples still existing, than to condemn yourselves to a public and universal banishment? Did our ancestors, who were strangers and shepherds, so quickly rear up a new city, when there was nothing here but woods and marshes; and shall we, when the capitol, citadel, and temples of the gods are still standing and safe, shall we, I say, think it a mighty matter, to rebuild a city that has been consumed by fire? Is it not surprising, that as a community we should hesitate on doing, when the calamity is general, what every individual would do, were it his particular case?

CHAP. LIV. *In Continuation.*

'BUT in the name of the Gods, should a fire, either by accident or design, happen at Veii, and the wind, as might naturally be supposed, spread the flames so as to consume the best part of that city, must we then shift about from thence to Fidenæ, Gabii, or some other town? Has your native soil no charms to attract your regard? Has this, our mother country, none at all? Does our love for our country, extend only to roofs and rafters? Upon honour, I will frankly acknowledge, though it gives me more pain to call

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'your injuſtice than my own misfortune to remem-
'brance, that during my exile, as often as I thought
'of my country, theſe hills, thoſe fields, the Tiber,
'the country I was accuſtomed to ſurvey, and yonder
'ſky; under which I was born and bred, came crowding
'into my mind. Let theſe, my fellow-citizens, by their
'attractive charms, rather engage you to remain in
'your own place of abode, than after you have aban-
'doned them, to regret your loſs, when it will be too
'late.

'It was not without reaſon, that gods and men ſe-
'lected this ſpot for the purpoſe of building a city,
'where we have moſt wholeſome hills, and a conveni-
'ent river for conveying the corn from the inland
'countries, and merchandize from the ſea, which, by
'the bye, is near enough for all good purpoſes, and at
'the ſame time ſo remote, as to ſecure us againſt any
'attack from foreign fleets. It lies in the center of all
'the provinces of Italy, the only ſituation capable of
'promoting the increaſe of a city. Can we have any
'ſtronger proof of this, than the rapidity of its pro-
'greſs? This, my friends, is only the three hundred
'and ſixty-fifth year of our city; ſo long have you
'been waging war with many nations of a long ſtand-
'ing, and after all, neither the Volſci, in conjunction
'with the Æqui, in poſſeſſion of ſo many ſtrong cities,
'nay not even all Etruria, ſo powerful both by ſea and
'land, and extending the whole breadth of Italy, be-
'tween two ſeas, have been a match for you in war.
'What reaſon have you then, or rather, what dæmon
'poſſeſſes you, who know how you have been here, for
'trying new experiments? You may indeed carry your
'bravery elſewhere, but can you carry thither that for-
'tune, which is unalterably annexed to this particular
'ſpot? Here is the Capitol, where a human head was
'found long ago, and it was declared concerning it,
'that the place where it was found, ſhould be the ſeat
'of univerſal empire, the capital of the world. It was
'here too, when the Capitol was cleared of all other
'divinities, that Youth and Terminus refuſed to be re-
'moved. Here are the fires of Veſta; here are the cœ-
'leſtial bucklers; in one word, it is to your continuance

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'here, that the gods have annexed your prosperity, 'power, and glory.'

CHAP. LV. *Camillus prevails.*

CAMILLUS's arguments, in general, but especially those drawn from religion, are allowed to have left a very strong impression with the people; but a chance word, seasonably spoken, determined them entirely. For some moments after, when the senate had met in the Curia Hostilia, to deliberate on these things, the cohorts, as they were returning from guard, passed in a body through the forum, and a centurion called out in the comitium, '*Ensign, plant your colours, we* '*shall be very well here:*' upon which, the senators ran out of the temple crying, *We accept the omen.* The multitude standing around, unanimously approved the motion.

The law being afterwards rejected, they began to build the city, without forming a plan, or regarding property. The public supplied them with tiles, and permitted them to take stones, or other materials, wherever they found it convenient; exacting security, however, from every one, that his house should be finished in twelve months. The hurry they were in, prevented them from paying the least regard to regularity in the streets: For every man, without minding property, laid the foundation of his house, in the first empty place that occurred; for which reason, the old sewers, which had originally run through the streets, now run every where under the houses; and the city had more the appearance of being populous, than of being regularly disposed.

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TITUS LIVIUS's Roman History.

BOOK VI.

The City rebuilt.—Great atchievements of Camillus. — Honours laid open to the People, by means of the Tribunes, Sextius and Licinius, the former of whom was the firſt Plebeian Conſul.

CHAP. I.

Introduction.—Regulations civil and religious.
A. R. 365.

IN the five preceding Books, the tranſactions of the Roman people have been traced, from the building of the city, to the period when it was taken by the Gauls; with reſpect to foreign wars and domeſtic broils, firſt when the government was veſted in kings, and then in conſuls and dictators, decemvirs and tribunes, with conſular power: events involved in obſcurity, both on account of the remoteneſs of time, like objects obſerved at a great diſtance, which can only be with difficulty diſcerned; and becauſe in thoſe early ages, there were but few writings, the only faithful regiſter of facts: Beſides, what had been preſerved either in the annals of the pontiffs, or in other monuments public or private, had been, during the general conflagration of the city,

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in a great measure consumed. But what happened from the rebuilding, and as it were the second birth of Rome, both at home and abroad, like branches which spring out of the old block, more numerous and promising than ever, will be found more explicit and authentic.

From this time, the Republic stood principally supported by Camillus, to whose noble exertions it owed its rise from ruin. Neither did they suffer him to resign his dictatorship, till the year was out: and as they were determined, that those tribunes, during whose administration the city had been taken, should not hold the comitia for the following year, the government returned to an inter-regnum.

Whilst the citizens were constantly employed, and all hands at work in rebuilding the city, Caius Marcius, tribune of the commons, cited Q. Fabius to stand trial against a certain day, for having taken up arms, contrary to the law of nations, against the Gauls, to whom he had been sent ambassador. But death, which came so opportunely, that it was generally believed to have been voluntary, saved him the trouble of appearing.

The inter-regnum then commenced. Publius Cornelius Scipio, and after him M. Furius Camillus, twice filled the office of interrex. He created L. Valerius Poplicula, a second time; L. Virginius, P. Cornelius, A. Manlius, L. Æmilius, L. Posthumius, military tribunes, with consular power. These magistrates, the moment they had entered upon office, after the inter-regnum, previous to every other consideration, advised with the senate with respect to matters of religion. In the first place, they ordered that diligent search should be made for all the treaties then extant, and for the laws, which at that time were contained in twelve tables, besides some regulations instituted by the kings. Some of them were made public; but those institutions which respected religion, were kept a profound secret by the pontiffs, with a view to make religion the means of keeping the vulgar in constant subjection to them *. It was then

* Many of the political maxims, and some of the doctrines of the church of Rome, are borrowed from the practice of the Roman pontiffs, during the Polythean system.

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that they began to mark the lucky and unlucky days. The ſeventeenth day of July, which had been remarkable for two diſaſters, the maſſacre of the Fabii at Cremera, and the ſhameful defeat at Allia, to which the city owed its deſtruction, they diſtinguiſhed, from the latter misfortune, by the name of Allienſis, and put a mark on it, that upon that day, no buſineſs, public or private, ſhould be tranſacted.

Some are of opinion, that becauſe Sulpicius, the military tribune, could not, by the ſacrifices he offered on the ſixteenth of July, make atonement, nor obtain favour from the Gods, in conſequence of which, the Roman army had been routed three days after they had faced the enemy, it was ordered that no ſacrifice ſhould be offered on the day after the Ides. It is alſo thought, that it is owing to this circumſtance, that the ſame regulation is obſerved with reſpect to the days immediately following the Calends and Nones.

CHAP. II.

War with the Volſci, &c.—Camillus choſen Dictator.

BUT their reſpite, for deliberating upon meaſures for putting the ſtate under proper regulations, after ſo heavy a calamity was but of ſhort duration. On the one hand, their old enemies, the Volſci, had taken up arms, determined now to extirpate the Roman name; and on the other hand, advices were communicated by merchants, that the heads of all the lucumonies of Etruria had met at the temple of Voltumna, and joined in a confederacy, for carrying on war. Add to all this, an alarm quite unexpected, in the revolt of the Latins and Hernici, who, ever ſince the battle at the lake Regillus, a period of near one hundred years, had continued firmly attached to the intereſt of Rome. Wherefore, amidſt ſo many ſubjects of terror, which beſet them on every hand; as it was evident, that the Roman name was not only odious to its enemies, but alſo contemptible among its allies, they reſolved to commit the helm to Furius Camillus, by whoſe addreſs they had

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been saved from shipwreck, and for that effect nominated him dictator. He appointed C. Servilius Ahala, master of the horse. Having then prohibited all judiciary proceedings, he levied by centuries all the young men, without excusing those who were far advanced in life, provided they were able to serve, from taking the military oath.

Having thus mustered and armed his troops, he disposed them into three divisions. One he opposed to Etruria, and posted it in the territory of Veii: another he ordered to encamp near the city. To A. Manlius, a military tribune, he gave the command of the latter corps, and to L. Æmilius, the command of that division which was sent against Etruria. The third, he led himself against the Volsci. Near Lanuvium, at a place called Marcius, he opened the campaign with storming the enemy's camp.

They had taken the field with a contemptible opinion of the Romans, being fully persuaded that all their youth had been cut to pieces by the Gauls; but when they heard that Camillus was commander, they were struck with so much terror, that they secured themselves within a strong rampart, which they fortified with palisades and trees laid across, by which means their intrenchments were rendered quite inaccessible to the enemy.

When Camillus perceived the nature of their fortification, he ordered fire to be thrown into the barricade of trees which covered their lines, and fortunately for the plan, the wind blew strong upon the enemy's camp. Wherefore, by this manœuvre he not only cleared a passage to their camp, but the flames, steam, and smoke being driven full against them, and the crackling of the green combustibles making a prodigious noise, the enemy were thrown into such consternation, that the Romans found less difficulty in getting over the rampart into the camp of the Volsci, than in passing the wooden fence that had been burnt down.

The enemy having been routed and cut to pieces, as the dictator had taken the camp by storm, he gave it up to be plundered by the soldiers: A concession, so much the more agreeable to the army, as it was quite unex-

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pected from a general, of whom liberality had never been characteristical. Then pursuing the fugitives, when he had laid waste all the country of the Volsci, he obliged them to surrender at last, after they had harrassed the Republic above seventy years*. The victorious dictator, from the Volsci, turned his arms against the Æqui, who were also making preparations for war, and cut off their army at Bolæ; having not only carried their camp, but their city also, at the first assault.

CHAP. III.

Sutrium relieved by Camillus. A. R. 365.

WHILST there was such signal success, in that part, where Camillus, the prop of the Roman state, commanded in person, the terror in the other became still more serious. Almost all Etruria were up in arms, and had invested Sutrium†, a city in alliance with Rome, whose ambassadors, when they applied to the senate for assistance, on this embarrassing emergency, obtained an order, that the dictator should march to their relief with all possible dispatch. But the situation of the besieged would not permit them to hold out till the course of this relief; for the handful of men, of which the town consisted, were quite exhausted with fatigue, want of sleep, and with wounds, from which they could have no respite, so that the town was surrendered by capitulation, and the inhabitants disarmed and sent away each with only a single garment.

While in this miserable plight they were abandoning their city in a train, at that instant, as fortune would have it, Camillus appeared with a Roman army. These miserable exiles fell at his feet; their chiefs had recourse

* The critics find fault with Livy's chronology here, and instead of *septuagesimo*, will have *septimo ac centesimo*, there being from the year 258, when the war was renewed against the Volsci, in the consulate of Appius Claudius and P. Servilius, to this time, 107 years. But the Volsci, as will soon appear, were not yet totally subdued.

† Now Sutri, distant 33 miles from Rome.

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to prayers, which the utmoſt neceſſity had extorted, the women and children, their companions in exile, in tears ſeconded them. Then he bad them dry up their tears, for he was juſt on his march to make them amends, and wo ſhould be to the Etrurians.

He then ordered the Sutrins to ſtay where they were, leaving a ſmall guard for their defence, and his own troops to lay down their baggage, taking only their arms with them. The troops being thus eaſed of every incumbrance, he marched on to Sutrium, where as he had rightly conjectured, and as it generally happens after a fortunate event, he found every thing totally neglected; before the walls not a ſingle centinel,—the gates wide open,—and the conquerors diſperſed, carrying the booty out of the houſes of the conquered. Wherefore the conſequence was, that Sutrium was taken and retaken, in one and the ſame day.

The Etrurians, who had ſo very lately carried all before them, were now butchered every where by an enemy, of whom they had no idea: nor was it poſſible for them to rally, to form themſelves into one body, or reſume their arms.

When they attempted, every man for his own ſafety, to eſcape by the gates, and if poſſible, by that means, to get to the fields, they found all the gates ſhut, for of that the dictator had taken care, in the firſt place. Then ſome had recourſe to arms, whilſt others, who had their arms about them, when the work began, called to their companions to join them, and fight for their lives. Diſpair would certainly have rendered the enemy's reſiſtance more obſtinate, had not cryers diſperſed through the town been ordered to ſummon them to lay down their arms, proclaim quarter to all who did ſo; and that none ſhould be hurt, but ſuch as continued in arms. At that inſtant, thoſe who had no hopes of ſaving themſelves, but in fighting to the laſt, when an alternative was offered, threw down their arms where they ſtood, and they who had none, as fortune had pointed it out as the ſafeſt courſe, preſented themſelves to the enemy. A great number of them was diſpoſed of in the priſons: before night, the town was reſtored to the Sutrins inviolate, and defaced by none of the calamities of war; be-

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cauſe it had not been taken by ſtorm, but ſurrendered upon terms.

CHAP. IV.

Camillus triumphs. The city rebuilt. New conqueſts.

CAMILLUS having thus been victorious in three ſeveral wars, in one and the ſame campaign, returned to Rome in triumph. By far the greateſt part of the captives led before his chariot were Etrurians. They were ſold at vendue, and the proceeds were ſo conſiderable, that the ladies were not only reimburſed in the gold they had advanced, but of the balance, three gold vaſes were made, inſcribed with the name of Camillus, which were extant, at the time the Capitol was burnt; as they ſtood at the feet of Juno, in the chapel of Jupiter.

This year alſo, ſuch as had deſerted the cauſe of the Vejentes, Capenates, and Faliſci, in the courſe of the wars with theſe people, and joined the Romans, were made citizens of Rome, and had land aſſigned them. Such too, to avoid the trouble of rebuilding at Rome, as had taken poſſeſſion of the empty houſes at Veii, whither they had betaken themſelves, were by a decree of the ſenate, recalled to the city. At firſt they muttered complaints, and ſeemed to treat the edict with contempt; but a day being fixed for their return, under pain of death to ſuch as diſobeyed, the danger became perſonal, which had been deſpiſed when general, ſo that they were awed into ſubmiſſion, and all obeyed.

Thus Rome became populous, and the houſes ſeemed to riſe all at once. For the ſtate contributed to the expence; and the Ædiles exacted the labour of the people, as a public ſervice, whilſt private perſons, urged by neceſſity, gave themſelves no reſpite in forwarding the work; ſo that within the year, the new city was entirely finiſhed.

At the cloſe of the year, an election was held for military tribunes. T. Quinctius Cincinnatus, Q. Servilius Fidenas, a fifth time, L. Julius Julus, L. Aquilus Cor-

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vus, L. Lucretius Tricipitinus, and Servius Sulpicius Rufus were chosen.

They led one army against the Æqui, not to meet them in the field, for they fairly acknowledged it was all over with them, but out of resentment to ravage their country, and to put the means of a new rebellion entirely out of their power. Another army was employed against the Tarquinienses, where they took two cities belonging to the Etrurians, Cortuosa and Contenebra, which they demolished. At Cortuosa, they met with no resistance; for, having surprised it, they took it at the first shout and assault. They plundered the town, and then set it in flames.

Contenebra held out for a few days; but incessant fatigue, night and day, without intermission, forced them to yield. As the Roman army was divided into six bodies, which relieved each other by turns every six hours, whilst the townsmen, being so few in number, were obliged to be constantly exposed to fatigue, and upon continual duty against the enemy. At last they surrendered, and suffered the Romans to enter.

The military tribunes had resolved to make the booty a perquisite of the public; but their order came too late for executing their design. For, whilst they were deliberating, the soldiers took possession, nor could they be dispossessed, without ill blood. This year too, that the city might not be said to increase in private buildings only, the capitol was repaired with square stones; a work which would attract attention even at this day, midst all the present magnificence of the city.

CHAP. V.

Motion with respect to the Agrarian law. New Tribes added.

WHILST the people were thus totally taken up with their building, the tribunes of the people, endeavoured to draw them to assemblies with their harrangues about the Agrarian laws. The Pomptine territory was held out to encourage their hopes, which now, since the entire reduction of the Volsci, by

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Camillus, was become the undoubted property of the Romans. They pretended, 'That the people were farther from an intereſt in that territory when in the 'clutches of the nobility, than when expoſed to the ravages of the Volſci; for the Volſci only made incurſions when in arms, and when they had an opportunity, whereas the nobility ſeized the public lands as their natural inheritance, and if no dividend were made, before the nobility had got hold of them, the people would never be the better of them.'

Theſe arguments had no great weight with the populace, who came ſeldom into the forum, ſuch attention did they pay to their building, which had exhauſted all their money; for this reaſon, they paid little regard to lands, which they had no ſubſtance to ſtock. In a ſtate full of reſpect for religion, even the ſenators, ever ſince their late diſaſter, were tinctured with ſuperſtition, for which reaſon, to renew the auſpices, the government returned to an inter-regnum; during which, M. Manlius Capitolinus, S. Sulpicius Camerinus, and L. Valerius Potitus, ſucceſſively governed the ſtate. The laſt of theſe, at length held the Comitia for electing military tribunes with conſular power, when L. Papirius, C. Cornelius, C. Sergius, L. Æmilius, for the ſecond time, L. Menenius, L. Valerius Poplicola, for the third time, were elected. They immediately entered upon office, after the inter-regnum.

That year, the temple of Mars vowed in the war with the Gauls, was dedicated by T. Quinctius, the duumvir, who had the charge of religious matters. Four tribes, compoſed of the new citizens, were added to the former, *viz.* the Stellatine, Tromentine, Sabatine, and the Arnienſine; which increaſed the number to twenty-five.

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CHAP. VI.

New wars. Camillus appointed by his Colleagues to preside.

LUCIUS SICINIUS, tribune of the people, brought on the motion relative to the Pomptine territory now before a more numerous assembly, and the people were more easily prevailed on to listen to a proposal about land than before. Mention too was made in the senate, of a war with the Latins and Hernici; but all concern on that account was dropped, in consideration of a war still more important, as they had intelligence that all Etruria was up in arms.

The administration was then committed to Camillus, a military tribune, with consular power. He had five colleagues, Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis, Q. Servilius Fidenas, for the sixth time, L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, L. Horatius Pulvillus, and Publius Valerius.

In the beginning of the year, their thoughts were diverted from the war with Etruria, by a body of fugitives from the Pomptine territory, who brought accounts to Rome, all of a sudden, that the Antiates were in arms, and that they were under-hand supported by the Latins, who had sent their youth to their assistance. The Latins refused that they had any public authority, and excused themselves, by pretending that volunteers were not precluded from bearing arms where they pleased. This was not a time, however, to look with contempt upon any war. The senate, therefore, returned thanks to the immortal Gods, that Camillus was in office; for, had he been in a private capacity, they must of necessity have nominated him dictator: and his colleagues were not ashamed to acknowledge; 'That where the terrors 'of war threatened the state, Camillus alone was fit to 'command; and for their own part, they were resolved 'to invest him with their whole power, nor did they 'think it any derogation from their prerogative, to give 'the preference to a colleague of such extraordinary 'merit.'

The senate commended the military tribunes highly for their disinterestedness, and Camillus quite confounded

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at the deference paid him, made the moſt reſpectful acknowledgments. 'The Roman people,' *ſays he*, 'laid 'me under great obligations, when they made me four 'times dictator; the ſenate, in their judgments in my 'favour, paid me a ſingular diſtinction, but the com'pliment paid me by my illuſtrious colleagues is beyond 'all conception. Could my activity, or vigilance, be 'more effectually exerted than hitherto, I would ſtrain 'every nerve, if poſſible, to out-do myſelf, that I might 'render the character univerſally given me by my coun'try, as permanent, as it is great. That as to the war 'with the Antiates, there was more fear than danger. 'However, though there were nothing to fear, he would 'be far from adviſing them to reſt ſecure. The city of 'Rome, was ſurrounded with neighbours, to whom it 'was an object of hatred and envy; for which reaſon, 'the ſtate required that ſeveral armies, and ſeveral 'commanders ſhould act at the ſame time. I therefore 'appoint you, Pub. Valerius, to ſhare with me the 'conduct and command of the army to be led againſt 'the Antiates; and you, Q. Servilius, to encamp near 'this city, at the head of another army, properly ac'coutred, and conſtantly ready to march, carefully ob'ſerving whether the Etrurians, in the mean time, as 'they did lately, or the Latins and Hernici, who give 'us trouble at preſent, offer to ſtir. One thing I take 'for granted, that you will manage this buſineſs, in a 'manner worthy of your father, your grand-father, 'yourſelf, and becoming one who has paſſed through 'ſix tribunates. Let a third army be raiſed by L. Quinc'tius, compoſed of ſuch whoſe age excuſed them from 'ſervice, for the protection of the city, and defence 'of its walls. Let it be the buſineſs of Horatius, to 'provide arms, accoutrements, and proviſions, and 'ſuch other things, as upon any emergency may be 'neceſſary for the war. Laſtly, Sergius Cornelius, we 'your colleagues in the magiſtracy, appoint you to pre'ſide in this houſe, to be the guardian of religion, 'the Comitia, the laws, and all civil affairs in the 'city.'

When they had all chearfully promiſed their utmoſt exertions in the diſcharge of their reſpective offices, Va-

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lerius, whom Camillus had made his partner in command, added, 'That he would consider Camillus, as 'his dictator, and submit to his orders as general of the 'horse, and therefore the fathers might be as confident 'of success, as if Camillus were to command alone.' The senators in raptures of joy, cried out, 'That they 'had reason to be confident of all the measures taken in 'war and peace, and of every part of the public administration; and that the republic would never have 'occasion for a dictator, were magistrates like them always in office, so perfectly united among themselves, 'so equally ready to obey or to command, and much 'more inclined to divide their own glory with their colleagues, than to arrogate that of their colleagues to 'themselves.'

CHAP. VII.

War with the Volsci. Dispondency of the Roman Soldiers. Camillus addresses them.

HAVING then prohibited all judicial proceedings, and completed the levies, Furius and Valerius set out for Satricum, where the Antiates had not only conveened a body of the Volscian youth, picked out from among a late breed, but prodigious numbers of the Latins and Hernici, nations, that had suffered no extraordinary diminution, during the long peace they had enjoyed. These new enemies, in conjunction with the old, gave the Roman soldiers not a little uneasiness.

But when the Centurions observed to Camillus, as he was drawing up his army, 'That the soldiers were 'giving way to dispondency;—that they had armed 'without any signs of ardour;—that they had quitted 'the camp slowly and with reluctance;—that they had 'even been heard complaining, that they were led to a 'battle, where each one of them, had to combat with 'a hundred;—that it was scarcely possible for them to 'stand the charge of so great multitude, were they even 'without arms, and much less that they were all armed:' mounting on horseback and riding through the ranks, so as he might look the soldiers full in the face; 'Sol-

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'diers,' *he called out*, 'what is the meaning of this 'sadness and langour which is not usual among you? 'Have you forgot the enemy, yourselves, or me? 'What are the enemy, but perpetual matter for your 'valour and glory? And are not you on the contrary 'the same, who lately under my command, to say no- 'thing of the taking of Falerii, and Veii, and of the 'slaughter of the Gauls in this country, after they had 'made themselves masters of it, obtained three victories 'over these very Volsci, Æqui, and Etrurians? Do 'not you acknowledge me as your general, because I 'give the signal as military tribune, and not as dictator? 'No extraordinary authority do I desire to be invested 'with in commanding you, nor ought you to consider 'any thing in me besides myself. For the dictatorship 'added nothing to my courage, nor did even my exile 'diminish it. We are then all of us the same; and as 'we bring along with us, the same things in all respects 'to this, as to former wars, we have no reason to doubt 'of the same success. The moment we come to blows, 'let us every one behave, as we have respectively been 'taught and accustomed to behave, and then we will 'conquer, and they will fly.'

CHAP. VIII.

Defeat of the Volsci. Capture of Satricum.

THEN the signal being given, he dismounted, and taking hold of the next ensign-bearer, he pulled him along with him towards the enemy; calling aloud to him, 'Advance soldier, with your ensign.' Whenever the troops saw Camillus, old as he was, and unfit for bodily exertions, advancing boldly against the enemy, they pushed forward altogether, every one joining in the cry, 'Let us follow our general.' It is said, that by Camillus's orders, an ensign was thrown amongst the enemy, and that to recover it, the front-line made extraordinary exertions.—That it was by that means the Antiates were first broken, and that consternation flew from the van, back to the corps-de-reserve in the rear. Nor was it the vigorous charge of the Roman

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ſoldiers only, animated as they were by the preſence of their general, that ſerved to put the enemy in confuſion, but the very ſight of Camillus, wherever he appeared, than which nothing could be more dreadful to the Volſci, ſcattered terror all around him. Wherefore, wherever he went, certain victory attended him, which appeared very evidently, when haſtily mounting his horſe, armed only with a foot ſoldier's buckler, he rode up to the left wing, that had been put in diſorder, and reinſtated the battle only by his preſence, pointing to the other wing, that was carrying all before it.

The ſucceſs was no longer doubtful, but the multitude of the enemy retarded their flight, and the ſoldiers were too much fatigued to continue ſlaughtering ſo great a multitude, for any conſiderable time. When all of a ſudden, a violent ſtorm, attended with a heavy rain, rather deprived the Romans of a more complete victory, than put an end to the battle. A retreat being then ſounded, the following night, whilſt the Romans were aſleep, terminated the war. For the Latins and Hernici, abandoning the Volſci, made the beſt of their way home, having ſucceeded no better than the wickedneſs of their deſigns deſerved.

The Volſci, how ſoon they ſaw they were left to ſhift for themſelves, by that very party, upon the faith of whoſe aid, they had taken up arms, abandoned their camp, and ſhut themſelves up within the walls of Satricum, round which Camillus drew lines of circumvallation, attempting to carry the place, by raiſing a mount and other works againſt it: but when he ſaw that the enemy made no ſally to obſtruct theſe works, he began to think the enemy had too little ſpirit to induce him to wait for victory by ſuch ſlow operations; he encouraged his ſoldiers not to exhauſt themſelves by a long ſiege, as they had done at Veii, ſince they could carry all before them. The ſoldiers with great alacrity ſcaled the walls on all ſides and carried the place. The Volſci inſtantly threw down their arms, and ſurrendered at diſcretion.

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CHAP. IX.

The Etrurians driven from Sutrium.

BUT the general was meditating a more important blow, the ſiege of Antium. This was the capital of the Volſci, and had been principally concerned in exciting the laſt war. But as a ſiege of ſuch importance could not be undertaken, without a vaſt apparatus of machines and warlike engines, leaving his colleague with the army, he went to Rome in perſon, to prevail with the ſenate to ſupport him in his views of deſtroying Antium.

In the very inſtant while he was ſtating the caſe, and I verily believe it was the pleaſure of the Gods, that Antium ſhould not fall at this time, ambaſſadors came from Nepete and Sutrium; ſoliciting aid of the Romans againſt the Etrurians, inſiſting, at the ſame time, upon the neceſſity of the utmoſt diſpatch. Thus did fortune divert Camillus's deſign againſt Antium. For theſe two cities were the barriers of Rome on the ſide of Etruria, and, as it were, the keys and gates of that country; and as it was the buſineſs of the Etrurians to begin with ſeizing on theſe places, when they had a plan to execute, the Romans took all poſſible care to recover and defend them.

For this reaſon, the ſenate came to a reſolution of recommending it to Camillus, to drop his deſign againſt Antium, and undertake the war againſt Etruria. The legions near the city †, which Servilius commanded, were appointed him for this ſervice; although he would rather have preferred the army in the country of the Volſci, accuſtomed to his command, and of which he had experience, he made no objections, and only deſired that Valerius ſhould be joined with him in the command.

† It would ſeem, that either Livy had forgot that Quinctius commanded the old men employed as a city guard, or rather the Printer had taken Quinctius for Servilius, who was appointed to watch the motions of the Etrurians.

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Quinctius and Horatius were sent to succeed Valerius in the Volscian dominions. Furius and Valerius set out from the city for Sutrium, where they found the Etrurians in possession of a part of the city, and the townsmen with much difficulty, defending the remainder against the attacks of the enemy, by blocking up every avenue to it.

The arrival of the Roman succours and the name of Camillus, so much celebrated among friends and enemies, not only supported them in their present declining state, but gave them time to procure fresh supplies. Wherefore, Camillus having divided his army, ordered his colleague to march his troops round to that part of the town, of which the enemy had got possession, and there to make an attack: not that he expected to take the place by scalade, but to draw the enemy's attention thither, and to give some respite to the besieged, who were already exhausted by hard duty, and to furnish himself with an opportunity of getting within the walls without opposition.

The scheme was executed on both sides at the same instant, which alarmed the Etrurians exceedingly on every side; for on one hand, they saw the wall stormed with the utmost fury, and on the other, the enemy within the walls; wherefore, by the only gate, which by chance was not invested, they rushed out in a body in dreadful consternation. Great havock was made among the fugitives, both in town and country. Many were slaughtered by Furius's party within the walls. Valerius's party were lighter for the pursuit, nor did they desist from slaughtering them, till the approach of night concealed them from their sight. Sutrium being thus recovered and restored to the allies, the army was led to Nepete, of which, the Etrurians were in the entire possession, having obtained it by capitulation.

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CHAP. X.

Nepete recovered and garriſoned by Romans.

TO recover this city ſeemed to be a moſt difficult affair, not only becauſe it was totally in poſſeſſion of the enemy, but alſo becauſe the city had been betrayed by a party of the inhabitants, and by that means delivered to the enemy; however, it was thought a proper ſtep to ſend a meſſage to the principal inhabitants to ſeparate themſelves from the Etrurians, and ſet an example of that fidelity in their own conduct, they had implored of the Romans. They returned for anſwer, that they had nothing in their power, for the Etrurians were in poſſeſſion of their walls and gates. At firſt they only frightened the Nepeſines, by laying waſte their lands; but then perceiving them more diſpoſed to regard their *late* ſurrender, than their *antient* alliance, the army approached the walls with faſcines from the neighbouring fields, wherewith they filled up the ditches, then applied their ſcaling-ladders, and at the firſt ſhout and aſſault, made themſelves maſters of the place.

Proclamation was then made, that all the Nepeſines ſhould lay down their arms, promiſing quarter to all ſuch as ſhould be found without arms. The Etrurians were put to the ſword, whether in arms or not. Such of the Nepeſines as had adviſed the ſurrender of the place, were beheaded, but the multitude who were not to blame, had their effects reſtored, and a Roman garriſon was left in the town.

Thus two cities, in alliance with Rome, being recovered from the enemy, the tribunes led back their victorious army in great glory to Rome. The ſame year, ſatisfaction was demanded of the Latins and Hernici, and the queſtion put, why they had not for ſome years, furniſhed their quota of troops, according to treaty. At a full meeting of both theſe nations, it was returned for anſwer; 'That it was neither by the authority, nor 'with the conſent of their ſtates, that ſome of their 'youth had ſerved among the Volſci, but they had been 'ſufficiently puniſhed for that imprudent ſtep, as none

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'of them had ever returned. The reaſon they had not 'furniſhed their contingent of troops was their conſtant 'terror of the Volſci, who like a plague, ſtuck ſo cloſe 'to their ribs, that they could not get clear of them, 'even by ſo many wars, one upon the back of ano-'ther.'

CHAP. XI.

War with the Volſci, joined with the Hernici and Latins. Manlius's ſedition.

WHEN this anſwer was reported to the ſenate, it appeared, that a fair opportunity, rather than a juſt pretence, was wanting, for making war on theſe nations. In the following year, when A. Manlius, P. Cornelius, Titus and Lucius Quinctii Capitolini, L. Papirius Curſor, and C. Sergius, both a ſecond time were military tribunes, a terrible war broke out abroad, but ſtill a more terrible ſedition at home. The war aroſe from the Volſci, who were joined by the Latins and Hernici, and acted openly: and the ſedition from a quarter, whence leaſt expected, Marcus Manlius Capitolinus, a man of noble extraction, and high reputation.

From an extravagant pride and ſelf-ſufficiency, he deſpiſed all the reſt of the Roman nobility, only Camillus he envied, equally diſtinguiſhed by the offices he had borne, and his own perſonal merit. It tortured his pride, to ſee that great man placed alone at the helm of affairs, and intruſted with the command of armies. 'What,' *ſaid he*, 'is Camillus to be ſo eminently diſtin-'guiſhed, as to conſider thoſe who were created with 'power equal to his own, not as his colleagues, but 'ſubalterns? When, all the while, if a man would 'weigh the matter coolly, Camillus never could have 'recovered Rome out of the hands of the enemy, if 'previous to that attempt, the capitol and citadel had 'not been ſaved by himſelf: he attacked the Gauls too, 'when they were receiving the gold, and whilſt they 'amuſed themſelves with the hopes of peace: but that 'he had repulſed them with arms in their hands, and

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'just upon the point of taking the citadel. Every soldier who attended him in the expedition, has a right 'to share in his glory, but no mortal could claim the 'least particle of his own.'

Transported with these extravagant conceits, and being naturally hot and turbulent, and perceiving, that his merit was not prized by the nobility suitably to his own idea of it, first of all he deserted that party, courted the multitude, and concerted measures with the tribunes of the commons, by speaking contemptuously of the senators, and flattering the populace; prudence was no longer the guide of his actions, the gale of popular applause drove him where it listed, so that he rather chose to be thought a great man, than a good citizen. Not content with renewing the proposal for distributing the conquered lands, which had always furnished the tribunes with matter of sedition, he began to attempt the ruin of public credit, representing, 'That the spurs 'assumed against debtors, pricked most severely, not 'only threatening poverty and disgrace, but also 'subjecting even free-born subjects to imprisonment and 'torture. The debt contracted to carry on the building, 'and building is very destructive to the rich, was at 'that period prodigious.' The war with the Volsci, which was too important to be overlooked, especially as they were supported by the Latins and Hernici, who had revolted, afforded a noble pretence for creating an absolute magistrate. But the truth is, that it was the extraordinary proceedings of Manlius rather, that compelled the senate to have recourse to the sovereign authority of a dictator. A. Cornelius Cossus, was appointed for this purpose, who named T. Quinctius Capitolinus his master of the horse.

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CHAP. XII.

The Dictator takes the field againſt the Volſci.

ALTHOUGH the dictator foreſaw, that he ſhould have hotter work at home than in the field; however, whether it was that the war required diſpatch, or that he wiſhed to give more weight to his dictatorſhip by a victory and triumph, he completed the levies, and marched directly to the country of Pomptinus, where he had received advice, the Volſci had been appointed to rendezvous.

I make no doubt, beſides the diſguſt which the relation of wars recurring almoſt every year, in ſo many former books, muſt create in the reader, but he muſt alſo be at a loſs to conceive, how in all the world, the Æqui and Volſci, after ſo many defeats, could be in a condition to ſet new armies on foot; a circumſtance which ſtruck myſelf not a little, when I peruſed the works of hiſtorians who flouriſhed near thoſe times, and related theſe facts. But ſince the ancient hiſtorians, paſs over this circumſtance in ſilence, I can only give my own opinion, which the reader may adopt or reject as he pleaſes.

It is probable, that either during the intervals of war, as is now the practiſe of the Romans in making levies, they trained up one race of their youth under another, whom they uſed as recruits in the wars ſo frequently renewed; or that the levies were not always made from among the ſame particular canton, although the war was carried on in name of the nation in general: or that thoſe places contained a prodigious number of free inhabitants, although now, ſetting aſide a ſmall number of ſoldiers yet kept up in them, were they not inhabited by Roman ſlaves, would be a perfect deſert. All authors, however, agree in this, that the army of the Volſci, was certainly very numerous, notwithſtanding that they had lately been much diſabled *by the Romans*, under the conduct and auſpices of Camillus. Moreover, they had been reinforced by the Latins, the Hernici, ſome Circenſes, and ſome from Velitræ.

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The Roman dictator having formed his camp that day, and the next, when he had offered sacrifices, to conciliate the favour of the Gods, and consulted the auspices, he came out exulting to his troops, who, as they had been ordered, were arming by break of day, to wait for the signal of battle, and addressed them as follows. 'Soldiers, the victory is ours, if the Gods, or 'their interpreters, know any thing of the future; 'therefore, as it becomes men assured of success, about 'to engage an enemy, in every respect their inferior, 'let us drop our javelins at our feet, and only take our 'swords in our hands; I would not have you stir from 'the ground on which you are formed, but stand firm 'in your posts, and receive their charge, without mov-'ing a single step. When they have spent their darts 'in vain, and advance in disorder against you, still keep-'ing your position; then let your swords glitter in their 'eyes, and let each of you remember, that the Gods 'are on our side; that the Gods send us on to battle 'with good omens. As to your part, Quinctius, re-'strain the ardour of your cavalry, carefully attending 'to the beginning of the attack, and when you see the 'armies closely engaged, while the enemy has enough 'to fear from another quarter, do you double their con-'sternation, by falling in among them, and breaking 'their ranks with your horse.' His directions were punctually obeyed by both horse and foot; nor did the general deceive the army, nor fortune the general.

CHAP. XIII.

The Dictator obtains a compleat Victory.

THIS numerous enemy, confiding solely in their numbers, and making a comparison of both armies, from the ground they occupied, began the battle rashly, and quitted it with precipitation. At the first onset, in their shouts, and discharging their darts, they showed some spirit; but the moment they came to close fight, and to engage man to man, they could not stand the charge of the Romans, who with eyes sparkling with fire, sword in hand, attacked them with incredible im-

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petuosity. The first line soon gave way, which struck terror into their corps-de-réserve, when the Roman cavalry charged and completed their consternation. Their lines were now broke in many places, and their whole army put into such confusion, that the battalions seemed to waver: at last, when they saw the front line cut down, every one expecting that the next turn would be his own, they took to their heels. The Romans closely pursued, without the least intermission in the foot, whilst they fled in a body, and kept their arms; but the moment it was observed that they dropped their arms, and fled in scattered parties through the fields, troops of horse were then dispatched, with strict injunctions, not to spend time in killing single persons, thereby to give an opportunity to the main body to escape; but to course around them, and frighten them with their darts and javelins, and to retard their flight, till the foot should come up, and cut them to pieces. Night alone put an end to the flight and pursuit.

The camp of the Volsci was taken and plundered on the same day, and all the booty excepting the freemen, given to the soldiers. The greatest part of the prisoners consisted of Latins and Hernici; nor were they of the common rank, or such as might be supposed to have served for pay, but some of the youth were found to be of the first quality; a plain indication, that our Volscian enemies had not been assisted without public authority. Many of the Circenses and Velitrians were also known, and the whole sent to Rome, where, when they were examined in presence of the principal senators, they discovered very plainly, as they had done before to the dictator, that their states were no longer in alliance with us.

CHAP. XIV.

The Sedition acquires new strength.

THE dictator still kept his army encamped, not doubting in the least, but the senate would authorize him to march directly to chastise these nations: but a more urgent affair required his attendance at Rome,

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where the ſedition grew more violent every day; and, on account of its author, was become more formidable than ordinary, *in ſimilar caſes*. For it was eaſy to ſee, in the harrangues of Manlius, as well as his actions, when compared with the motives from whence they proceeded, that though they had the appearance of popularity, in their tendency they were really ſeditious.

Obſerving a centurion who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by many gallant exploits in war, arreſted for debt and led to priſon, with his train he ran up to the middle of forum, and laid hold of the debtor, then exclaiming loudly againſt the pride of the Patricians, and the oppreſſion of the uſurers, repreſenting the miſeries of the people, the virtues of the priſoner, and his unſuitable fortune; 'In vain, *added he*, did this right-hand ſave 'the Capitol and citadel, if I am to behold my fellow-'citizen, my fellow-ſoldier, juſt as if he had fallen into 'the hands of the victorious Gauls, a wretched captive, 'dragged to ſlavery.' Then, in preſence of all the people, he paid the debt to the creditor, and ſet the debtor at liberty in due form, who called upon gods and men 'to reward M. Manlius, his generous deliverer, and the 'father of the commons of Rome.' And now being admitted into the tumultuous train, he contributed not a little to increaſe the tumult. Shewing the ſcars he had received in the Vejentian, Gallic, and other wars; he told them, 'That the expence of attending the ſervice, 'and rebuilding his houſe, which had been deſtroyed, 'had forced him to borrow money, of which the prin-'cipal had been paid over and over again, whilſt the 'intereſt always roſe above the principal. That he now 'ſaw the light of the forum, the faces of his country-'men, was owing to the bounty of M. Manlius; that 'from him he had received all the benefits that a ſon 'can receive from a father; and to him he devoted all 'that yet remained of his body, blood, and life: That 'whatever obligations he lay under to his country, to 'his country's gods, to his houſhold gods,—he lay un-'der all theſe, which would attach him inviolably, to 'that one man.'

The people intoxicated with ſuch proteſtations, became entirely devoted to M. Manlius, who added an-

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other action still better calculated to embroil the state. He ordered an estate, which lay in the territory of Veii, the principal part of his capital, to be sold by auction; telling them, 'No, Romans; while I have any thing 'left, I will not suffer that any one of you shall be ar-'rested or dragged to prison.' This so transported the multitude, that right or wrong, they seemed resolved to follow the assertor of their liberty. Besides all this, he had, like a preacher, speeches at his house, full of invectives against the fathers; in which, no matter, whether true or false, he confidently gave out that the senators secreted the gold intended for the Gaulic ransom; and not content with the possession of the lands belonging to the public, wished also to make a booty of the public money: A treasure, which would alone be sufficient, if discovered, to discharge all the debts of the poor Plebeians. A prospect of discharging their debts, must no doubt have been agreeable; and indeed it must have appeared in a very hainous point of view, that a sum of money should have been raised by general contribution, to redeem their country from Gaulic slavery; and that that very money, after it had been wrested out of the enemy's hands, should have been made a perquisite of a few private persons. They therefore became importunate in their inquiries, where, and with whom, a theft of such importance could ly concealed. Whilst he amused and put them off with promises, that all should come out at a proper time, they dropped all other concerns, and directed their whole attention to this particular affair; and it plainly appeared, that a confirmation would have advanced his credit beyond all measure, but that a refutation would bring him to the greatest disgrace.

CHAP. XV. *Manlius tried.*

MATTERS were in this uncertain state, when the dictator, recalled from the army, arrived at Rome. The next day he assembled the senate, and having sufficiently sounded their inclinations, he ordered them to stick close by him. Attended by this honourable retinue, having set up his tribunal in the comitium,

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he ſent a meſſenger to M. Manlius. He being ſummoned by order of the dictator, when he had given the ſignal to his followers, that now the critical minute of conflict was come, preſented himſelf before the tribunal, attended with a numerous train; on the one ſide was the ſenate, on the other the people, like two armies drawn up in order of battle, each looking up to their reſpective Leader. Then, after ſilence was made, the dictator addreſſed him thus: 'I heartily wiſh, Manlius, that the 'ſenate and I could coincide with the commons of Rome, 'in every other point, as readily as I truſt we ſhall do, 'in what concerns you, and the matter upon which I 'am juſt about to queſtion you. I find you have given 'the citizens reaſon to hope, that without hurting pub'lic credit, their debts may be paid out of the treaſure 'raiſed for the Gauls, which the principal ſenators have 'ſecreted: an inveſtigation of which I am ſo far from 'obſtructing, that on the contrary, I earneſtly beſeech 'you, M. Manlius, to eaſe the commons of the burden 'of uſury, and to name the men who ly in wait to rob 'the public, and conceal this important treaſure. And 'if you do not inſtantly comply, I will order you im'mediately to priſon, either as an accomplice in the 'crime, or an incendiary and a ſlanderer; for I will by 'no means ſuffer you any longer to amuſe the people 'with vain hopes.'

In anſwer, Manlius ſaid, 'that he was not deceived 'in his opinion; that the dictator had been created, not 'againſt the Volſci, who were declared enemies, as of'ten as the ſenators find it will ſerve their purpoſe, nor 'againſt the Latins and Hernici, whom they may drive 'to acts of hoſtility by falſe accuſations, but againſt him'ſelf and the commons of Rome. The war, which was 'only pretended, is now laid aſide, and all their fury 'turned againſt him. That now the dictator had de'clared himſelf the patron of the uſurers, in oppoſition 'to the people; that now he was to be impeached and 'ruined, becauſe of the affection the people bore him. 'Are you angry, A. Cornelius; does it offend you, 'conſcript fathers, becauſe you ſee ſuch crowds attend'ing me? Only let each of you, by your beneficence, 'draw them from me, by interceding for ſome, by free-

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'ing others of your countrymen from torture, by stop-
'ing arrests and executions against their persons, and
'by relieving the necessities of others, out of your own
'superfluities. But why do I insist on your bestowing
'any thing of what you possess? Take this alternative,
'only deduct from the capital, what hath been already
'paid you in name of interest, and then you will see my
'retinue dwindle down to the number any one has
'among you. But why am I the only man in Rome,
'who thus interest myself for the citizens? I can make
'no other answer, than I would do to another question,
'why did I alone save the capitol and citadel? In the
'last instance, I exerted myself for all in general; in
'the first, I am ready to do so for every Roman in par-
'ticular. As to what respects the treasure intended for
'the Gauls, the question only renders a solution diffi-
'cult, which in the nature of the thing is abundantly
'easy. For why do you put a question to me, which
'you yourselves can best resolve? Why do not you un-
'fold what you have in your bosom, rather than order
'it to be shaken out by force, unless there be some
'fraud in the case? The more you insist upon my de-
'tecting your legerdemain, the more I am afraid you
'will impose on the nicest observation. I am not there-
'fore to be compelled to make a discovery of your
'thefts, but you should be obliged to bring them to
'light.'

CHAP. XVI.

Manlius committed to prison. The people go into mourning.

THE dictator then ordered him to give over these equivocal evasions, and go directly to the proof of his charge, or confess his wickedness in slandering the senate, and exposing them to the odium of the people, by the imputation of an imaginary theft. When he refused to speak at the pleasure of his enemies, he was ordered instantly to prison. When he was seized by the messenger, he cried out, 'O Jupiter, most beneficent,
'most mighty; O Juno, queen of heaven; O Minerva,

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'and all ye other gods and goddeſſes, who reſide in the 'capitol and citadel, do you ſuffer your champion and 'defender to be thus treated by his enemies? Shall this 'right hand, by which I drove the Gauls from your 'ſanctuaries, be now manacled and locked in chains?'

No perſon preſent, could bear to hear or ſee the indignities done him. But always ſubmiſſive to legal authority, this ſtate had preſcribed bounds to itſelf, through which, no conſideration would induce it to break; ſo that neither the tribunes of the people, nor the people themſelves, dared ſo much as to lift up their eyes, or open their mouths, to call in queſtion the power of the dictator.

After Manlius was thus committed to priſon, it is beyond a doubt, however, that moſt of the commons went into mourning, that many of them ſuffered their hair and beards to grow, and in crouds ſurrounded the priſon door, with every mark of ſorrow in their whole deportment. The dictator triumphed over the Volſci, but it was rather a triumph of envy, than of glory. For they did not ſcruple to aver, 'That he had gained that 'honour in the city, not in the field, that his triumph 'was over a citizen, not over the enemies of Rome; and 'that nothing was wanting to gratify the victor's pride, 'but to have Manlius dragged before his chariot in 'chains.'

Matters were now almoſt ripe for an open rupture, when, to pacify the people, without the leaſt ſolicitation, the ſenate, all of a ſudden, of their own free-will, became generous and beneficent, in voting 2000 Roman citizens to be ſent as a colony to Sutrium, to each of whom they aſſigned two and an half Roman acres of land. As the compliment appeared to be ſmall, and confined to a few, they conſidered it as a bribe offered them for betraying Manlius; ſo that the ſedition was inflamed, by what was intended to appeaſe it. Now the friends of Manlius appeared ſtill more dejected, and more ſordid in their dreſs. The abdication of the dictatorſhip too, rid the people of their fears, and left them at liberty to think and ſpeak as they pleaſed.

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CHAP. XVII. *Manlius set at liberty.*

VOICES were then heard publickly reproaching the multitude, 'for raising their protectors by their 'favour, to high and slippery stations, and then to 'leave them to shift for themselves, in the very moment 'of danger. That thus had Sp. Cassius, when he *soli-* 'cited for the people a distribution of lands; that thus 'had Sp. Mælius, who in a famine generously fed the peo- 'ple at his own expence, been abandoned and destroy- 'ed. That in the same manner, M. Manlius, while he 'endeavoured to enlarge and set at liberty a part of the 'city, overwhelmed and plunged in debt, was given up 'to his mortal enemies. That the people only fattened 'their favourites, to make them fitter for the butcher's 'knife.

'Is a consular gentleman to be treated in this man- 'ner, merely because he had not answered at the nod 'of a dictator? Suppose he had before invented a story, 'and therefore had not his answer ready, was it e- 'ver known that even a slave was clapt in irons only 'for telling a lie? Can that memorable night ever be 'forgot, which had like to have been the last, and an 'eternal night to the Roman name? Was there no idea 'left of the Gaulic troops climbing up the Tarpeian 'cliff? No idea left of Manlius himself, armed as they 'saw him, covered with sweat and blood, having, in 'a manner, rescued Jupiter himself out of the hands of 'the enemy? Do you think a handful of meal was a 'sufficient reward for the preserver of our country, and 'that the man, whom you have almost deified, and at 'least have put on a footing with Jupiter, by giving him 'the surname of Capitolinus, ought to ly bound in a 'dungeon, without the light of the sun, and live only 'at the pleasure of an executioner? Was he alone able 'to save you all, and are all of you together unable to 'relieve him?'

By this time the multitude would not even leave the place in the night, and threatened to break open the prison, when by a decree of the senate sent them, they obtained what they were about to extort, that Manlius

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ſhould be ſet at liberty. This action however did not put an end to the ſedition, but only gave it a head.

About this time, the Latins and Hernici, who together with the colonies of Circeii and Velitræ, had come to Rome to clear themſelves of having been concerned in the war with the Volſci, of which they were accuſed, and to demand a releaſment of their priſoners, that they might inflict the puniſhment on them provided by their own laws. Their anſwer was far from being agreeable, but to the colonies, much leſs ſo, becauſe being Roman citizens they had formed the criminal deſign of carrying arms againſt their country. For which reaſon, their requeſt was not only denied reſpecting the priſoners, though the ſenate dealt more favourably with the allies, but they were expreſly ordered to quit the city inſtantly, and not to appear in preſence of the Roman people, leſt the right of ambaſſadors eſtabliſhed for ſtrangers, not citizens, ſhould be found inſufficient to protect their perſons.

CHAP. XVIII.

Manlius ſtill more preſumptuous. A. R. 369.

THE ſedition of Manlius being revived, about the end of the year, an election was held, when there were choſen for military tribunes, with conſular power, the following Patricians: S. Cornelius Maluginenſis, the third time; P. Valerius Potitus, the ſecond time; M. Furius Camillus, the fifth time; S. Sulpicius Rufus, the ſecond time; C. Papirius Craſſus, and T. Quinctius Cincinnatus, the ſecond time. About the beginning of this year, both orders were at peace with their neighbours, which was a lucky circumſtance: To the people, becauſe they were in high expectations, now that they were not diverted by levies; and having ſo great a champion at their head, to deliver themſelves entirely out of the clutches of their uſurers: and to the ſenate, becauſe they would not be diverted by foreign alarms from applying the proper remedies to their domeſtic maladies. Wherefore, as both parties were now inflamed to an extraordinary degree, a violent conteſt was on the point of

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breaking out. And Manlius now more presumptuous and enraged than ever, held assemblies of the people in his house, night and day, and concerted measures with the principal men of their party, for bringing about a revolution in the state. His late affront had exasperated him, little accustomed to such rough treatment, in a very high degree; and the consideration, that the dictator had not dared to proceed against him, as Q. Cincinnatus had done against Sp. Mœlius, gave him still more confidence: and more especially as the dictator had laid down his office to avoid the odium of committing him to jail, and the senate too could not bear to have it imputed to them. Puffed up and exasperated by such reflections, he set the minds of the people agog, already too susceptible of inflammatory impressions.

'How long, *said he*, will you continue strangers to 'your own power, of which nature has not suffered 'even the beasts themselves to be ignorant? Reckon at 'least your own number, and the number of your adversaries: and doubtless were you to engage one to 'one, I should imagine you would struggle harder for 'your liberty, than they to support their unjust sway. 'As many clients as there are of you, to one patron, 'so many will be to each of your enemies, in the approaching conflict. Only shew the war, and you will 'have peace; only let them see that you are prepared 'to make a noble stand, and they will immediately do 'you justice. You must altogether show a spirit to undertake, or each of you must lay his account to suffer. 'How long will you turn your eyes upon me? I shall 'be wanting to none of you, only take care that I have 'it in my power to serve you. I appeared as your protector; but the moment my enemies thought proper, 'in a moment I was nobody. All of you beheld the 'man in fetters, who had delivered each of you from 'them. What expectations can I have, should my enemies attempt any thing further against me? Am I to 'expect the miserable fate of Cassius and Mœlius? You 'do well to be shocked at the thought. The Gods, I 'hope, have otherwise determined: but I cannot imagine that the Gods will ever come down from heaven 'to rescue me. They must inspire you with resolution

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'to remove ſuch dangers from me, as they did me, 'when in arms, to defend you againſt barbarous ene-'mies, and in the gown, againſt oppreſſive citizens.

'You are a great people, no doubt, but have you ſo 'little ſpirit, as always to be ſatisfied with having one 'to ſtand up for you againſt your enemies, and never 'think of a diſpute with the Patricians, but what will 'terminate in ſubmitting to their yoke. It is not natu-'ral to you, I ſhall allow, but cuſtom has eſtabliſhed 'it. For why is your courage ſo extraordinary in the 'field againſt foreigners, that you think you have a 'right to command them? Why, becauſe you have 'been accuſtomed to contend with them for empire; a-'gainſt the Patricians, you have been accuſtomed ra-'ther to make feeble attempts than a bold puſh in de-'fence of your liberty. Yet, whoever were your lea-'ders, whatever was your courage, you have always 'hitherto got what you wanted, either by force, or 'your good fortune. Now is the time to attempt high-'er matters. Only put your own good fortune to the 'teſt, and me, whom I truſt, you have happily expe-'rienced. You will find leſs difficulty in giving the Pa-'tricians a maſter, than ever you found in finding one 'to oppoſe their tyranny. Dictatorſhips and conſul-'ſhips muſt be ſtruck out of the ſyſtem, to ſuffer the 'commons of Rome to emerge. Stand by me then. 'Prevent debtors to be proſecuted according to the ri-'gour of the laws. I declare myſelf the patron of the 'commons of Rome; my ſteady concern for their inte-'reſts has already entailed upon me that title: and if 'you will exalt your patron, by a title ſtill more ſplen-'did, and a dignity more illuſtrious, you will only give 'him an addition of power, to obtain for you what 'you deſire.' From this time, it is ſaid, that they be-gun to ſpeculate about ſetting up a king, but as to the perſons concerned, or the length to which the ſcheme was carried, there is no diſtinct account.

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CHAP. XIX.

Manlius still prosecutes his seditious views.

ON the other hand, the senate began to be alarmed by the frequent assemblies held in the house of a private person, by chance situated in the citadel, and the great danger that threatened their liberty. Many of them cried out, that now they had need of a Servilius Ahala, who would not provoke an enemy of the state, by ordering him to be thrown into prison, but by dispatching one citizen, put an end to the domestic quarrel. They came, however, to a determination, expressed in more moderate terms, but no less effectual, *viz.* that the magistrates should take care, that the commonwealth should sustain no prejudice from the pernicious designs of Manlius.

Then the military tribunes, and tribunes of the commons, which latter were sensible, that the liberty of the people and their own power would expire together; and therefore had submitted to the authority of the senate, laid their heads together to consult, what was best to be done. When no expedient occured to any of them, but violence or assassination, which in all appearance would occasion a dangerous conflict, M. Mænius and Q. Publilius, tribunes of the people, moved as follows. 'Why do we make that a contest between the senate 'and the commons, which ought to be a war of the 'whole state, against one pestiferous citizen? Why 'should we attack him in conjunction with the commons, 'when with greater propriety we can do it by the commons themselves, that he may fall borne down with 'his own weight? We purpose to appoint him a day 'to answer for his conduct. To the people, nothing is 'more odious than royalty. When the multitude shall 'once see, that there is no contest with them, that from 'protectors they are become judges, the accusers Plebeians, the impeached a Patrician, and the crime 'charged, aspiring to be king, they will unquestionably demonstrate, that they regard no interest so much 'as their liberty.'

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CHAP. XX.

Manlius tried and condemned.

THIS motion being unanimously approved, they notified to Manlius, a day for his appearance; upon which, the populace were at first a good deal affected, when they saw the criminal going about in a mourning habit, accompanied by no senator, no friend, no relation; nay, not even his brothers, A. and T. Manlii. A circumstance, which had never occurred before, in any similar case, that the nearest relations of the impeached did not change their habit. For, when Appius Claudius was imprisoned, C. Claudius, his declared enemy, and the whole Claudian family appeared in mourning. Hence it was universally understood, that there was a combination of the whole Patrician order, to oppress this popular man, because he was the first who had fallen off from their party to espouse the cause of the Plebeians.

When the day of trial came, I find in no author, any direct proofs of his aspiring to sovereign power, adduced by his accusers, other than the circumstantial ones, of his holding private assemblies, using seditious expressions, ill-meant liberalities, and slandering the senate. But, doubtless the proof was clear, when nothing but the circumstance of the place where he was tried, and not the justice of his cause, prevented the people from passing immediate sentence on him.

Here, however, we ought to remark, that men may be convinced, how much vile ambition renders the most meritorious actions, not only disagreeable, but even detestable: he is said to have produced near four hundred persons, for the payment of whose debts, he had advanced money without interest, and thereby prevented the sale of their effects, and themselves from being imprisoned. Moreover, he not only enumerated the honours he had gained in war, but also produced to view the spoils of thirty enemies slain with his own hand, forty presents bestowed on him by the generals under whom he had served, among which were two beautiful mural,

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and eight civic crowns. Beſides, he preſented on the ſpot, ſeveral citizens, whoſe lives he had ſaved in battle; among the reſt, C. Servilius, who had been appointed general of the horſe in his abſence.

When he had deſcribed all his warlike atchievements, in a ſtile every way equal to their grandeur, he bared his boſom covered with ſcars, left by the wounds he had received in battle. Then turning his eyes to the capitol, he called on Jupiter and the other Gods to help him in time of need, praying, that they would inſpire the Roman people, with the ſame ſentiments towards him, in his diſtreſs, as they did him to defend the capitol, for the preſervation of the Roman people. Conjuring all and ſundries of his judges, to look towards the capitol and citadel, and to turn their faces towards the immortal Gods, when they were going to paſs ſentence upon him.

When the people were called in the field of Mars to vote by centuries, the criminal ſtretched out his hands towards the capitol, no longer imploring the compaſſion of men, but addreſſing himſelf to the Gods. The tribunes eaſily ſaw, that whilſt the people had before their eyes ſo great a monument of his glory, and whilſt their minds were impreſſed with the ſignal ſervice he had done his country, however juſt his impeachment, they never could be induced to condemn him. Wherefore, the trial being put off to a future day, the people were ſummoned to aſſemble in the Petiline wood, without the gate Flumentana, where the capitol was not in view. There his impeachment had its full weight. With hearts ſteeled againſt compaſſion, a rigorous ſentence was paſt, which ſtruck even the judges with horror.

Some writers ſay, that duumvirs were appointed to enquire into his treaſon. Agreeable to the ſentence, the tribunes threw him down the Tarpeian rock. Thus the ſame place which was the theatre of his glory became that of his puniſhment and diſgrace. Two marks of infamy were fixed upon his memory; one by public authority, a popular edict, prohibiting every Patrician in future, to reſide in the capitol or citadel, becauſe his houſe had ſtood where now we have the temple and mint of Moneta. The other was a family affair. For,

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it was resolved among the Manlian family, that none of them should ever bear the prænomen of Marcus †.

Such was the end of a man, who, had he not been born in a free state, deserved to have been remembered with honour. The people, in a short time, when they had nothing further to fear from him, remembered only his virtues, and regretted the loss of him. A plague too soon followed, for which calamity, as no cause could be assigned, most people ascribed it to the punishment of Manlius; alledging, 'That the capitol had 'been polluted with the blood of its deliverer, and that 'the Gods must have been offended at the execution of 'the man, who had rescued their temples out of the 'hands of the enemy, almost in their very presence.'

CHAP. XXI.

Pestilence, Famine, and War.

THE plague was succeeded by a scarcity of corn; and the report of these two scourges joined together brought on several wars in the following year, when L. Valerius, the fourth time, A. Manlius, Ser. Sulpicius, L. Lucretius, L. Æmilius, all a third time, and M. Trebonius, were military tribunes with consular power. For, besides the Volsci, who by a kind of destiny, seem to have been appointed to keep the Roman arms in perpetual exercise, and the colonies of Circeii and Velitræ, that had long been meditating a revolt, and Latium too, that was suspected, the Lanuvini too, hitherto always steady in their fidelity, all of a sudden declared themselves the enemies of Rome. The senate imagining, that all this had happened by means of a low opinion entertained of them, for suffering the revolt

† The names used among the Romans, were the prænomen, nomen, cognomen, and agnomen. The prænomen was the name prefixed to that of the family name, as the Christian name among us: the nomen, was that peculiar to the family: the cognomen, was either a nick-name, or appellation of honour, by which branches of a family were distinguished: the agnomen, was always an honorary distinction, on account of some atchievement, as Capitolinus, Africanus, &c.

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of the colony of Velitræ, to pass so long with impunity; resolved, that as soon as possible, a bill should be laid before the people, for declaring war against them.

To engage the commons to take arms more willingly, five commissioners were appointed for dividing the territory of Pomptinus, and three for settling a colony at Nepete. A bill was then preferred to the people, for a declaration of war, and though the tribunes of the people did all they could to oppose it, the tribes unanimously agreed to it. This year was spent in preparations, but upon account of the plague, the army was not led out to the field.

These dilatory proceedings, gave time to the colonies to try the effects of submission to the senate; and many of them gave it as their opinion, that a deputation should be sent to Rome, humbly to sue for pardon. But the public interest, as it commonly happens, being involved in private danger, they who had advised a revolt from the Romans, fearing, lest they who were only to blame, should be delivered up as victims to the resentment of the Romans, diverted them from every measure tending to procure peace. Nor had they only the address to over-rule the motion of an embassy in the senate, but also to engage great parties of the people to march out in order to plunder the Roman lands. This late insult cut off all hopes of a reconciliation. This year too the revolt of the Prænestini was first spoke of: and when the Tusculans, Gabinians, and Lavicanians, lodged a complaint against them for making incursions upon their lands, the senate answered them so coolly, that it was pretty evident, they gave less credit to what was alledged, as they did not wish it to be true.

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CHAP. XXII.

Action at Velitræ. Raſhneſs of Lucius Furius.

THE next year, the two Papirii, Spurius and Lucius, new military tribunes with conſular power, led the legions to Velitræ. Their four colleagues, Ser. Cornelius Maluginenſis, a fourth time, Q. Servilius, Ser. Sulpicius, L. Æmilius, a fourth time, being left to guard the city, and to watch the motions of the Etrurians, of whom they had the ſtrongeſt ſuſpicions. An action happened at Velitræ, where, though the colony was ſupported by numbers from Præneſte, ſuperior to their own, the Romans were victorious. The vicinity of the city, induced the enemy to make a more early retreat, eſpecially, as in caſe of a defeat, the city was their only refuge. The tribunes did not ſtorm the town, both becauſe they might not have ſucceeded, and they had no intention of carrying on the war to the utter ruin of the colony.

The letters diſpatched to Rome, addreſſed to the ſenate, with the news of the victory, contained more ſevere reflections againſt the people of Præneſte, than thoſe of Velitræ. Wherefore, by a decree of the ſenate, and the command of the people, war was proclaimed againſt Præneſte. The Præneſtines, in conjunction with the Volſci, the next year, took Satricum, a Roman colony by ſtorm, after a vigorous defence, where they exerciſed ſhocking cruelties upon the priſoners.

Irritated at this proceeding, the Romans created Camillus military tribune, a ſeventh time, and gave him the two Poſthumii Regilenſes, Aulus and Lucius, L. Furius, L. Lucretius, and M. Fabius Ambuſtus, for his colleagues. The war with the Volſci, was alloted to M. Furius, by an extraordinary commiſſion, and it fell by lot to L. Furius to be his aſſeſſor; a circumſtance, which did not ſo much advance the intereſt of the ſtate, as it raiſed the character of Camillus, not only in the eye of the public, becauſe he repaired the breaches made by Lucius's raſhneſs, but alſo in the eye of his colleague,

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because after this false step, Camillus rather sought his esteem, than any accession to his own glory.

Camillus was now far advanced in years; and when he was about to take the usual oath in the Comitia, to procure him immunity from the service, the people, to a man, opposed it. But his spirit had all the quickness and vivacity of youth, and his intellects not in the least impaired. He did not indeed give himself much trouble about civil affairs, but the thoughts of war, always roused him.

Having raised four legions, each consisting of four thousand men, and appointed them to rendezvous the next day at the Esquiline gate, he set out for Satricum. There the victors, not at all intimidated, trusting to their numbers, in which they were rather superior, waited for him. When they perceived that the Romans were advancing, they marched out immediately in order of battle, resolved, without delay, to risk all in a decisive action, in order to elude the arts of so consummate a general, in whom alone the Romans confided, to supply his inequality in point of numbers.

CHAP. XXIII.

Prudence and Modesty of Camillus.

THE Roman troops and their other general were all on fire to engage, and nothing prevented them from coming to blows immediately, but the prudence and authority of Camillus alone, who wanted by gaining time, an opportunity to avail himself of his skill in generalship. This caution served to render the enemy more insolent; for they not only formed their troops in the space before the camp, but advanced into the middle of the plain, and by pushing their lines almost up to the enemy's ensigns, made a mighty brag of their strength. The Roman soldiers could not put up with so much presumption, and much less, L. Furius, the other military tribune, who besides the fire and forwardness natural to his time of life, and disposition, was animated by the confidence he observed in the multitude, whose courage is often flushed without any certain grounds. He there-

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fore inflamed the troops ſtill more, whom he found already full of ardour, by depreciating his colleague's authority, on the only ſide where it was vulnerable, namely, his great age: frequently repeating, 'That 'war was the buſineſs of the young, and that courage 'continued vigorous, or declined with the body; from 'a moſt active and adroit general, he is now become a 'very drone. And he whoſe cuſtom it was to take 'camps and cities, the moment he approached them, 'was now content to ſit down, and ſpin out the time 'within the intrenchments of his own. What acceſſion 'to his own ſtrength, or diminution of the enemy's, does 'he wait for? What opportunity, what time, what 'place, would he have for laying an ambuſcade? 'There is really nothing but coldneſs and ice in the 'counſels of old age, Camillus has lived long enough, 'and acquired enough of glory. But, ought we to 'ſuffer the forces of the republic, that ought to be im-'mortal, to droop and languiſh in ſympathy to the 'worn out body of one man.'

By ſuch diſcourſes, he won the whole camp to be of his party. And, as the conſtant cry was to be led on to battle; 'M. Furius,' *ſays he*, 'it is impoſſible any 'longer to reſtrain the ardour of the ſoldiers, and the 'enemy, whoſe courage we have raiſed by our delays, 'inſults us with a pride that is abſolutely intolerable. 'Will you only be ſo good, who are but one ſingle 'perſon, as yield to the deſires of us all, and ſuffer 'yourſelf to be over-ruled in counſel, that you may the 'ſooner overcome in battle.' Camillus in return, told him, 'That in all the wars, in which he had had the 'honour to command alone, till then, neither the Ro-'man people, nor himſelf, had found reaſon to regret 'his conduct, or the ſucceſs of it. But, he was ſenſible 'that he had a colleague now, whoſe authority was not 'inferior to his own, and the vigour of his years greatly 'ſuperior. It had always been his cuſtom, in what 'concerned the troops, to preſcribe to them, but never 'to receive rules from them. However, he could not 'prevent his colleague from uſing the power his com-'miſſion gave him: therefore, by the help of the Gods, 'he might do what he judged moſt for the intereſt of

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'the ſtate. But, in reſpect of his age, he requeſted to 'be excuſed from engaging in the foremoſt ranks, but 'that he ſhould not be wanting in ſuch duties, as a man 'at his time of life was capable of diſcharging. He on-'ly prayed the immortal Gods, that no misfortune 'might give him reaſon to conclude that his own advice 'would have been moſt ſalutary.'

The Gods were as deaf to the prayers of Camillus, as men had been to his prudent counſel. He who adviſed to give the enemy battle, fought at the head of the army; Camillus remained with the corps-de-reſerve, which he ſtrengthened as much as poſſible, and poſted a ſtrong guard before the camp. Then he took his ſtation on an eminence, whence he carefully obſerved what would be the iſſue of a battle fought in oppoſition to his advice.

CHAP. XXIV.

Defeat of Lucius, converted into a victory by Camillus.

THEY had no ſooner engaged, than the enemy gave way, not through fear, but deſign. Between their army, and their camp, there was a ſmall eminence behind them; and as they had troops to ſpare, they had left in their camp, ſome of their beſt battalions, formed and under arms, with orders to ſally out, *in the* heat of action, the moment the enemy ſhould approach their intrenchments. The Romans in purſuing the enemy too warmly, whenever they had begun to retire, were led into a diſadvantageous ground, and furniſhed them with an opportunity for making the intended ſally. Terror and confuſion now ſhifted ſides, and went over to the conquerors. An attack ſo unexpected, and the low ground on their rear, obliged the Romans to give way. They were puſhed by the freſh troops of the Volſci, who had ſallied out of the camp, and likewiſe by thoſe who had made a feint of flying, and faced about now to renew the charge.

The Romans now obſerved no order in their retreat; but forgetful of their late forwardneſs, and their ancient glory, every where turned their backs, flying with pre-

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cipitation back to their camp. At this inſtant, Camillus cauſed himſelf to be ſet on horſeback by thoſe about him, and at the head of his reſerved troops, throwing himſelf quickly in the way of the fugitives; 'What! 'ſoldiers,' *ſays he*, 'is this the battle you ſo eagerly de- 'manded? Is there any God, or man, that you can 'blame for your diſgrace? Your own raſhneſs engaged 'you, and your puſilanimity makes you abandon it. 'You have followed another leader, now follow Ca- 'millus; and conquer as you uſed to do when I led 'you. Why do you caſt your eyes towards your camp 'and intrenchments? none of you ſhall ſet a foot there, 'till you bring victory with you.' Shame ſtopped them at firſt; but when they ſaw their enſigns turned round, the army wheeling about to face the enemy, and their general, illuſtrious by ſo many triumphs, and venerable for his age, advancing in the front, where the preſs and danger was greateſt, they then reproached themſelves and each other, and nothing was heard throughout the whole army, but chearful ſhouts and mutual exhortations.

The other tribune on his part too, behaved with great gallantry; for, being diſpatched, whilſt Camillus was rallying the foot, to the cavalry, he was far from employing reproaches; his ſhare in the late miſcarriage, had loſt him the authority requiſite in reproving others. Wherefore, inſtead of commands, he made uſe of intreaties, conjuring them, one and all, 'By a brave beha- 'viour, to ſpare him the juſt reproaches which might 'be made him for the bad ſucceſs of that day, for which 'he alone was reſponſible. Notwithſtanding, *conti- 'nued he*, the repeated oppoſition of my colleague, I 'choſe rather to be raſh with the multitude, than be 'cautious only with him. Whatever may be your fate, 'Camillus's glory is ſecured. As for me, if the battle 'be not reſtored, my ſituation will be deplorable indeed, 'for I ſhall have my own ſhare of the misfortune, toge- 'ther with you; as to the diſgrace, that will be all my 'own.'

It was thought moſt adviſeable, as the infantry had fallen into diſorder, that the cavalry ſhould diſmount,

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and attack the enemy on foot. They advanced, equally diſtinguiſhed by their animated conduct and luſtre of their arms, to ſupport the legions wherever they obſerved them hardeſt preſſed: and both officers and ſoldiers ſignalized themſelves with great gallantry. The event ſhowed the noble effects of a ſpirited exertion: for the Volſci, who but a little ago had given way under a pretence of fear, fled now in good earneſt with the utmoſt precipitation. Many of them fell in the action, and a great number in the flight. In the camp, however, which was taken at the firſt attack, the number of the priſoners, exceeded that of the ſlain.

CHAP. XXV.

Suſpicions relative to the Tuſculans.

IN taking account of the priſoners, ſome Tuſculans were known, who being ſet apart by themſelves, were brought before the tribunes, to whom, upon examination they confeſſed, that they had turned out to that war, by order of their magiſtrates. Uneaſy at the apprehenſions of a war ſo near home, Camillus declared that he would immediately ſet out with the priſoners for Rome, that the ſenate might have immediate advice, that they were no longer to conſider the Tuſculans as allies: deſiring his colleague, in the mean time, *if he* had no objection, to take the ſole command of the camp and the army. The fortune of that day had taught Lucius not to prefer his own opinion to better advice: neither did he, or any other in the army imagine, that Camillus would quietly paſs over a miſcarriage, that had expoſed the republic to ſuch imminent danger, and it was the general talk, both in the army and at Rome, that as the ſucceſs againſt the Volſci had been various, the defeat and rout, had been entirely owing to Lucius, but the victory was ſolely the work of Marcus.

After the priſoners were introduced into the ſenate, and the fathers had come to a reſolution to make war upon the Tuſculans, they commiſſioned Camillus to carry it on; he requeſted to have one other joined with him in the commiſſion, and being permitted to name

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any of his colleagues he pleaſed, contrary to the expectation of every one, he named L. Furius. By that act of generoſity, he covered the diſgrace of his colleague, and to himſelf gained immortal honour. With the Tuſculans, however, there was no war! by a determined reſolution to continue in peace, they ſecured themſelves againſt the power of the Romans, which would have been quite impracticable by force of arms. When the Romans entered their country, the inhabitants did not abandon the places that lay near the road, nor deſiſted from cultivating their lands; the gates of their city were left open, and numbers of the inhabitants went out in their gowns to meet the generals. Proviſions for the army were brought in plenty, both from town and country, for the accommodation of the troops in the camp.

Camillus having encamped before the gates, which were open, and wiſhing to know, whether the ſame tranquillity prevailed within the walls, as there was an appearance of in the country, he entered the city, where he found the houſes and ſhops all open, every thing expoſed to ſale as uſual, the artificers all employed in their reſpective trades, the ſchools reſounding with the noiſe of the ſcholars, the ſtreets crouded with boys and women going backwards and forwards among the throng, whitherſoever their occaſions led them; and although he narrowly ſurveyed every place to diſcover ſome ſign of warlike preparations, he could obſerve nothing any where that looked like fear or alarm; inſomuch, that nothing was put out of the way, or lodged any where to ſerve a purpoſe, but all things had ſo much the appearance of tranquillity and peace, that the news of a war, had ſcarce ſeemed to have reached them.

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CHAP. XXVI.

Submiſſion of the Tuſculans.

OVERCOME by the enemy's patience, he ordered their ſenate to be aſſembled, whom he addreſſed thus. 'Tuſculans, you are the only people, who 'has hitherto found out the true arms and forces, capable of defending them againſt the reſentment of the 'Romans. Go to Rome, and apply to the ſenate. 'The fathers will judge, whether your paſt fault entitles 'you to chaſtiſement, or your preſent repentance to 'pardon. I ſhall not prevent a grace, which the commonwealth only ought to beſtow. From me, you have 'full liberty of making your requeſt, to which the fathers will pay ſuch a regard, as they ſhall judge 'proper.'

After the Tuſculans had reached Rome, and the magiſtrates of an allied city, ſo faithful a little before, were obſerved in the higheſt affliction at the door of the ſenate-houſe, ſo moving a ſight made a very ſtrong impreſſion on the fathers, and audience was given them rather as allies than enemies, when the dictator of Tuſculum ſpoke to the following effect. 'Conſcript fathers, 'we, againſt whom you have declared and made war, 'went out to meet your generals and legions, armed 'and accoutred as you now ſee us ſtanding on the porch 'of your ſenate-houſe. Such has been, and ſuch always 'will be our behaviour, and that of all the Tuſculans, 'except at any time we receive your orders to take arms 'and employ them for your ſervice. We return our 'thanks to your generals and your armies, for giving 'more credit to what they ſaw, than to what they had 'heard, and that they did not act as enemies, when 'they found none to oppoſe them. That peace which 'we have obſerved with reſpect to you, we come to requeſt of you, and that you would carry the war into 'countries, where it will meet with another reception. 'As for us, if we are to experience the force of your 'arms, we ſhall do it without reſiſtance. This is our 'fixed determination, and may the immortal Gods

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'make it as happy, as it is sincere. As to what respects 'the accusation which inspired these hostile intentions 'against us; although it would answer no purpose to 'refuse in words, what facts have ascertained: how-'ever, were they true, after so public a profession of re-'pentance, we doubt not; but to acknowledge them, 'will be our safest measure. You may receive offence, 'whilst you are thought entitled to such ample satisfac-'tion.' These were almost the dictator's words. They obtained peace for the present, and soon after the free-dom of the city. The legions were now led back from Tusculum.

CHAP. XXVII.

Contests with the Tribunes. A. R. 373.

CAMILLUS having thus signalized himself by his prudence and valour in the war with the Volsci, his good fortune in the Tusculan expedition, and in both, his singular moderation and patience towards his colleague, quitted his magistracy, when the following gentlemen were created militray tribunes for the following year, the two Valerii, Lucius and Publius, the former a fifth, and the latter, a third time; C. Sergius, a third time; L. Menenius, a second time; Sp. Papirius, and Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis.

There were no censors this year, owing particularly to the doubtful reports concerning the debts; the tribunes of the people, on the one hand, exaggerating the odious exactions of the usurers, whilst on the other hand, they endeavoured to vindicate them, as they wished it to appear that want of principle in the debtors, rather than want of ability, prevented them from paying their debts. C. Sulpicius Camerinus and Posthumius Regillensis were chosen censors. An enquiry into this matter was set on foot, but was interrupted by the death of Posthumius, because it was reckoned ominous to choose a colleague to the surviving censor. Wherefore, after Sulpicius had demitted, some informality was discovered in the election of the new censors, so that they did not enter upon office. They reckoned it ominous to proceed to a third

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election, as if it had been disagreeable to the Gods that there should be censors for that year.

But the tribunes of the people exclaimed against this proceeding as an intolerable artifice, contending, that 'The senate avoided a production of the censors books, 'which would ascertain every mans capital, because 'they by no means wished the amount of the debts to 'be seen, which would clearly evince, that one part of 'the state was eaten up by the other: whilst in the 'mean time the bankrupt Plebeians were constantly ex-'posed to one enemy after another. Pretexts were de-'vised for raising war in every place without distinction. 'The legions were led from Antium to Satricum, from 'Satricum to Velitræ, and from thence to Tusculum. 'The Latins, Hernici, and Prænestini are threatened 'with a war, more to oppress their citizens, than to 'chastise the enemy: in order to wear out their consti-'tutions by keeping them always in arms, nor suffer them 'to breath in the city, give them a moments leisure to 'think of their liberty, or once make their appearance 'in an assembly, where upon some occasions they might 'hear their tribunes discant upon the means of reducing 'usury, and of puting an end to their other oppressions. 'If the people would only call to mind the liberty en-'joyed by their fathers they never would suffer a Roman 'citizen to be arrested for borrowed money, nor the 'levies to be made, till the amount of the debts were 'known, measures taken for bringing it down, when 'every man would know what was his own, and what 'was not, whither his person remained at his own dis-'posal, or at the mercy of a creditor to be imprisoned 'at pleasure.'

Tempted by this seditious bait, a mutiny was set on foot in an instant. For many had captions taken out against them; and upon the rumour of a war from the Prænestе, the senate had voted new levies, both which, the commons in a body, supported by their tribunes, began to obstruct. For the tribunes would not permit the persons of the debtors to be seized, nor would the youth give in their names at the muster.

The fathers, for the present, were more concerned to have the levies completed, than solicitous for the pro-

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secution of debts: especially as news were brought, that the enemy had marched from Præneste, and encamped in the Sabine territory. In the meantime, that report rather animated than depressed the tribunes, in the prosecution of their design; and nothing else could quell the sedition in the city, but the approach of the war to its very walls.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Presumption of the Prænestini. A Dictator created.

FOR when the Prænestini were informed that not a legion was levied at Rome, no general appointed, and the Patricians and Plebeians bent on each others destruction, their leaders thought it the best opportunity in the world, to advance with colours flying after a most rapid march, and laying waste the country by the way, up to the Colline gate.

The consternation in the city was prodigious. The cry was, *To arms;* and the Romans flew to their ramparts and gates. At length, the thoughts of sedition giving way to those of war, Titus Quinctius Cincinnatus is chosen dictator, who appointed A. Sempronius Atratinus master of the horse. The moment these accounts were circulated, so great was the dread of that officer, that the enemy retreated from the walls, at the same time that the youth enlisted themselves, upon the proclamation, without the least opposition.

While the levies were going on at Rome, the enemy in the meantime encamped near the river Allia. From thence, whilst they were pillaging the country, they boasted among themselves that they had seized a post fatal to the Romans. 'Nay, *continued they*, you will 'see that they will be seized with the same sort of panic, 'and make just such a shameful retreat, as in the war 'with the Gauls. For, if the Romans tremble at a day 'declared unlucky, and remarkable for bearing the 'name of that place, how much more terrible must 'Allia be itself, being a perpetual monument of their 'defeat, than a day which only derives a name from 'it? There the dreadful forms and hideous shouts of

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'the Gauls would ſtare them in the face, and ring in 'their ears.'

Whilſt thus they amuſed themſelves with theſe idle and fooliſh conceits, they placed all their confidence in the imaginary influence of the place. On the other hand, the Romans concluded, 'That whereſoever they 'ſhould find their Latin enemy, they would always 'know them ſufficiently to be the ſame people, to whom 'they gave a mortal blow at the lake Regillus, and had 'kept in due ſubjection for an hundred years. The 'place, which their own overthrow had rendered me-'morable, would rather animate them to wipe off the 'ſcandal of their diſgrace, than fill them with idle fears, 'that there ſhould be a charm in any place to render 'victory impracticable. For ſhould the Gauls themſelves 'come in their way, on that very ſpot, they would give 'them ſuch a drubbing as they did at Rome, when they 'recovered their country; or the day after at Gabii, 'when their exertions were ſuch, that none of the ene-'my that had ſet a foot in Rome, or carried home the 'news of their victory or defeat.'

CHAP. XXIX.

The Præneſtini beat, and cities taken. A. R. 374.

SUCH were the ſentiments of both armies, when they met at Allia. The Roman dictator, when he ſaw the enemy drawn up and ready for action, turns to Sempronius. 'Do you imagine, *ſays he*, how theſe 'fellows have poſted themſelves at Allia, fully perſuad-'ed that there is ſome charm in the place? Well,— 'may the immortal Gods give them no better aſſurance 'nor more aſſiſtance! But do you, truſting ſolely to 'your arms and valour, put ſpurs to your horſes, and 'briſkly charge their main body. The moment they 'are frighted and put in diſorder, then will I puſh them 'with the legions. Aſſiſt us, ye Gods, who were wit-'neſſes of our treaty, and take vengeance on them for 'the diſhonour they have done to you, and for impoſing 'upon us, when they called upon your divinity to atteſt 'their ſincerity.'

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Both horſe and foot charged with ſuch fury, that the Prænestini could not ſtand before them. At the firſt ſhout and charge, their ranks were broke. Then when their army began to give ground every where, the flight became univerſal. Nay, ſo great was their conſternation, that their fears carried them beyond their camp; nor did they ſtop their precipitate flight, till they were in ſight of Præneste. There the ſtraggling fugitives met, and took poſſeſſion of a poſt, which they fortified in a hurry; fearing, ſhould they retreat to the city, that their farms would be immediately ſet on fire, and when every thing was plundered, then their town would be beſieged.

But the victorious Romans ſtaid only to riffle the enemy's camp, till they were immediately at their heels, when the enemy abandoned this poſt alſo, and threw themſelves into the town, where they ſcarce thought themſelves ſafe. There were eight towns beſides ſubject to Præneste. Theſe were all attacked in courſe, and being eaſily taken, the army was led to Velitræ, which was taken by aſſault, when the dictator approached the capital itſelf, without waiting an attack, it immediately capitulated.

Then having been victorious in one battle, having taken two camps, nine cities by force, and Præneste by capitulation, T. Quinctius returned to Rome, and carried the ſtatue of Jupiter Imperator from Præneste in triumph, and placed it in the Capitol. It was ſolemnly ſet up between the ſhrines of Jupiter and Minerva; and as a monument of his exploits, the following Inſcription was engraved on its pedeſtal, "By the help of Jupiter "all the other Gods, Titus Quinctius took nine cities." He laid down his dictatorſhip juſt twenty days after he had been veſted with it.

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CHAP. XXX.

Inconsiderate conduct of the Manlii.

AN election was then held for military tribunes with consular power, when the same number of Patricians and Plebeians were chosen. Of the Patrician order, P. and C. Manlii, and L. Julius. Of the Plebeian, C. Sextilius, M. Albinius, and L. Antistius. To the Manlii, *because* they were more nobly descended than their Plebeian colleagues, and had more interest than Julius, the province of the Volsci was assigned by an extraordinary commission, without lots or any other rule whatever. But both they and the fathers, by whose indulgence they had got this preference, had reason to repent it. Without reconnoitring the country, they sent out some battalions to forage, and upon a false alarm that they were intercepted, marched with all expedition to their relief, without even securing the author of the alarm, who was a Latin, and had deceived them under the disguise of a Roman soldier. —Thus did they fall precipitately into an ambuscade.

In this dilemma, they could only rely on the valour of the troops, whilst many fell on both sides. The enemy, in the mean time, from another quarter fell upon the Roman camp, which stood in a plain. In both instances, the Roman interest suffered by the rashness and want of experience in the generals. Whatever remains of the Roman army survived this stroke owed nothing to the abilities of their leaders, but to their own innate bravery alone. When the news of this disaster reached Rome, they were first for naming a dictator: but after they heard that all was quiet again among the Volsci, who seemed not to know how to improve an opportunity, or the victory they had gained; the generals and the army were recalled. After that, they had as much peace as could be expected from the Volsci.

About the close of the year, however, there were some commotions occasioned by a confederacy, effected by the Prænestini with the Latin states. This year too, at the request of the people of Setia *, who complained that they

* Sezza.

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had too few inhabitants, new planters were sent thither. Notwithstanding their bad success in war, it was some consolation, that they had peace at home, a circumstance which they principally owed to the favour and respect the people showed to their Plebeian magistrates.

CHAP. XXXI.

Disputes about the debts. The Volscian territories laid waste. A. R. 376.

IN the beginning of the next year, divisions rose to a prodigious height, in the military tribuneship of Sp. Furius, Q. Servilius, a second time; C. Licinius, P. Clœlius, M. Horatius, and L. Geganius, with consular power. The debts were the source and foundation of this sedition. To get a proper estimate of the debts, Sp. Servilius Priscus, and Q. Clœlius Siculus, were created censors; but a war intervened to put a stop to the enquiry. For, at first, the news were brought express, which were afterwards confirmed by the flight of the peasants, that an army of the Volsci had entered the Roman territories, and ravaged them far and wide. In this consternation, so far were their civil contests from being restrained by the consideration of a foreign war, that the tribunes pursued their point with more warmth than ever, and opposed the levies, till the senate was obliged to agree, that no person should be disturbed either for private debts, or publick taxes, during the currency of the present war.

The people having obtained this indulgence, all opposition to the levies ceased. When the new legions were completed, it was resolved that they should be led against the territories of the Volsci, in two divisions. Sp. Furius, and M. Horatius, marched right along the sea-coast to Antium, and Q. Servilius, and L. Geganius to the left by the mountains of Ecetra.

Neither of them met with the enemy. Wherefore they fell to ravaging, not like bands of robbers as the Volsci, taking advantage of the enemy's internal divisions, whose valour made them tremble, but by a

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regular army, reprisals were made in a regular manner, and their resentment fell the heavier, as they took longer time. For the Volsci dreading the approach of a Roman army, whilst they were employed in ravaging, had carried their incursions no farther than the frontiers of the Roman territories: whereas the Romans were in no haste to evacuate the enemy's country, as they wanted to draw them to a battle. Having therefore reduced all the farm-houses every where, besides some villages, to ashes, and leaving neither a fruit-tree, nor growing corn, and carried with them all the booty in men and cattle, which were without the walls, both armies returned to Rome.

CHAP. XXXII.

Defeat of the confederate armies of the Latins and Volsci.

THUS the debtors had a short respite; but the moment the enemy ceased to give disturbance, the prosecutions for debt immediately recommenced: and so far were they from expecting an ease with respect to the old debts, that they were obliged to contract new debts, to enable them to pay a tax imposed by the censors to defray the expence of building a wall of square stone. The people had no alternative against this act and oppression, as their tribunes had no levies to *obstruct*. The same necessity obliged them to submit to the power of the great, in the election of militray tribunes, who were all Patricians, namely, L. Æmilius, P. Valerius, a fourth time, C. Veturius, Ser. Sulpicius, L. and C. Quinctii Cincinnati. By means of this influence, it was carried without any opposition, that three armies should be raised to act against the Latins and Volsci, who lay incamped with their confederate forces at Satricum, for which purpose the youth took the military oath, without the least objection.

One of these armies was appointed for the defence of the city; another to be in readiness, in case of any sudden emergency, and a third, by far the strongest, P. Valerius and L. Æmilius led to Satricum. Here, when they found the enemy drawn up in order of battle upon a

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plain, they came instantly to blows: a violent rain, however, attended with a hurricane, prevented them from getting a victory, of which though there was no absolute certainty, there were, in appearance, the greatest hopes.

The next day the battle was renewed, and for some time, the Latins especially, who had learned the Roman art of war, during their long alliance with Rome, stood their ground with equal bravery and success. But they could not support it against the Roman cavalry, who broke their ranks, an advantage which was improved by the foot, where-ever they observed the least disorder. The more the Roman army pushed forward, the more did the enemy give way; and when once they had victory in view, the Romans charged with irresistible ardour.

The enemy were totally routed; and as they fled to Satricum, which was two miles distant, and not to their camp, they were in a great measure cut to pieces by the cavalry. Their camp was taken and plundered. The night after the battle, they made a precipitate retreat from Satricum to Antium, and though the Roman army, pursued them as close as possible, their fear carried them faster away, than the enemy, however enraged, could follow. Thus therefore they got within the walls, before the Roman army, could fall upon, or retard their rear. Then some days were spent in laying waste their country: for the Romans were not sufficiently provided with warlike engines for attacking the place, and the enemy durst not venture a battle.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Tusculum taken by surprize, and recovered by the Romans.

AFTER this a misunderstanding arose between the Latins and Antiates; the latter quite tired out and exhausted with the calamities of a war, wherein they had been involved from infancy to old age, wished to capitulate. The former, having enjoyed a long tract of peace, and but lately revolted, were yet in high spirits, and therefore mighty keen for prosecuting the war. Both however became sensible, that they might act in-

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dependently of one another, and each purſue his own plan, ſo that there was an end to the diſpute.

The Latins retired, that they might not be included in a treaty, which they thought would not be to their honour. The Antiates having thus got rid of theſe troubleſome counſellors, who were averſe to all ſalutary meaſures, ſurrendered their town and country to the Romans. But ſuch was the rage and madneſs of the Latins, that becauſe they neither could hurt the Romans, nor keep the Volſci longer in arms, they reduced the city of Satricum to aſhes, which had been their firſt place of refuge after their defeat. Nor did a ſingle houſe in the whole city eſcape their fury, but a temple of the goddeſs Matuta *; for they had ſet all on fire, without diſtinction, ſacred and profane. Nor is it alledged, that they ſpared this temple from a ſenſe of religion, or veneration for the gods; but becauſe they were terrified by a voice thundering direful menaces from the temple, if they did not inſtantly remove their impious fires from the ſanctuaries of the gods.

In this barbarous frenzy they marched to Tuſculum, enraged becauſe that ſtate had not only deſerted the common diets of the Latins, and entered into treaty with the Romans, but had actually accepted of the freedom of Rome. As they had come all of a ſudden, whilſt the gates were wide open, the whole town, excepting only the citadel, was taken by ſurpriſe. To the citadel the townſmen flew with their wives and children, and diſpatched expreſſes to Rome to inform the ſenate of their misfortune. The Romans, with an activity that does honour to their fidelity, diſpatched an army to Tuſculum, under the command of the military tribunes, L. Quinctius and Servius Sulpicius. There they found the gates of Tuſculum ſhut againſt them, and the Latins both beſieging and beſieged, determined on the one hand to defend the town, and on the other to gain the citadel; ſo that they both ſtruck terror and were afraid.

* *Dea quaſi Matutina*, the goddeſs of the morning: among the Greeks, known by the name of *Leucothoe*, or *Ino*, daughter of Cadmus.

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The arrival of the Romans produced a prodigious alteration in the ſentiments of both parties. The fears of the Tuſculans were now converted into the greateſt joy; whilſt the Latins, who were almoſt confident of taking the citadel, being already in poſſeſſion of the town, began to deſpair of ſaving themſelves. A ſhout was ſet up by the Tuſculans from the citadel, which was returned by the Roman army with ſtill greater force. The Latins were roughly handled on both ſides, and could neither ſtand the attacks of the Tuſculans, who came down upon them from the fort, nor beat off the Romans who came up to the very walls, and attempted to force the gates. They firſt got upon the walls by means of their ſcaling ladders, and then they broke open the gates. The enemy being thus hemmed in by two enemies at once, in front and in rear, unable to defend themſelves, or find a way to eſcape, were all cut off to a man. Tuſculum being thus recovered from the enemy, the army marched back to Rome.

CHAP. XXXIV.

An incident, which lays the foundation of aggrandizing the Commons.

BUT though the ſucceſs of their arms this year had procured them peace abroad, the oppreſſion of the nobility, and the miſeries of the people were every day increaſing within the city more than ever; the ſevere method of exacting payment, in itſelf, rendered payment impoſſible. Wherefore, as they had no effects for the diſcharge of their debts, they were adjudged and ſentenced to ignominious and corporal puniſhments, which ſtood to the creditors in lieu of payment. Such a ſcene of miſery, not only ſunk and depreſſed the ſpirits of the meaner Plebeians, but even of the moſt conſiderable of that order, that far from having the courage to enter the liſts with the nobles, for the military tribuneſhip, a privilege they had ſtrenuouſly laboured to obtain, there was not a man among them all of ability and experience, who would ſue for, or even con-

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ſent to bear the Plebeian magiſtracies. So that the fathers now ſeemed to have recovered the perpetual poſſeſſion of an honour, which the commons had only uſurped for a few years. But that the other party might not have too much reaſon to exult, a trifling incident, as it generally happens, laid the foundation of a very wonderful change.

M. Fabius Ambuſtus, a Patrician of great credit and influence, not only among his own party, but alſo among the commons, becauſe he had never affected a haughty contemptuous behaviour towards them, had two daughters, whereof the elder was married to Ser. Sulpicius, and the younger to C. Licinius Stolo, a Plebeian, but a man of the higheſt accompliſhments. This alliance being readily agreed to by Fabius, procured him no ſmall reſpect among the commons. By chance it ſo happened, that as the two ſiſters paſſed their time together in agreeable converſation, as one may ſay, in the houſe of Ser. Sulpicius, the military tribune, Sulpicius's lictor, at his return from the forum, ſtruck the door with a rod, according to cuſtom, *to anounce the approach of a magiſtrate:* the younger Fabia, being an entire ſtranger to the cuſtom, expreſſed ſome fear, which ſet the other a laughing, wondering, at the ſame time, how her ſiſter could be ignorant of the cuſtom. A very little thing ſometimes ruffles the minds of women, and this deriſive laugh, ſtung the younger Fabia to the *quick*. Perhaps too, her pride was piqued by the croud of people that came to pay their court to her ſiſter, and aſk her commands, whoſe marriage appeared to her in the moſt fortunate point of view, at the ſame time, that ſhe conceived a diſguſt at her own, from a miſtaken notion indeed, that one can give place to the neareſt friend, only with reluctancy.

Her father happening to ſee her in this dejection, ſoon after her late chagrin, aſked her if all was well. She wiſhed to conceal the cauſe of her diſquiet, as it ſaid little for her regard to her ſiſter, or her reſpect for her huſband; however, by urging her gently, he prevailed on her to acknowledge, that the cauſe of her grief, was her being married unſuitably to her quality, and into a family incapable of honours and high ſtations. Ambuſtus

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omitted nothing that could comfort his daughter, and desired her to take courage, for she should soon see the same honours in her own house, she had before seen in her sisters. He then began to concert measures with his son-in-law, associating in their projects L. Sextius, a young Plebeian of great spirit, and wanted nothing but a noble descent, to qualify him for the highest offices in the state.

CHAP. XXXV.

New Bills preferred by Sextius and Licinius.

THE oppression which the poor Plebeians laboured under at this time, and from which they could never hope to be relieved, but by raising some of their own body to the supreme power, gave them a fair occasion to attempt an innovation in the government. But they saw that they must apply with the utmost vigour in the prosecution of their design, as the Plebeians had already, by their inflexible constancy and perseverance, in urging and supporting their claims, carried such points, there was nothing, by a vigorous exertion, which they might not attain, and thereby become equal to the Patricians in honours, as well as in merit. For the present, it was thought expedient, that Licinius and Sextius should begin, by getting the Plebeian tribunship, a magistracy, by which they might open themselves a way to the highest dignities.

C. Licinius and L. Sextius, being elected tribunes of the people, they proposed several laws, all tending to check the overgrown power of the Patricians, and promote the interest of the people. The first respected the debts, and enacted, that after deduction of what had been paid for interest, from the principal sum, the remainder should be discharged in three equal payments, in the space of three years. The second regarded landed property, and enacted, that no Roman citizen should possess more than five hundred acres. The third enacted, that the office of military tribune should be suppressed, the consulate revived, and one of the consuls always a Plebeian.

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These were matters of high speculation, which could not be brought to bear without an extraordinary struggle. Thus all the principal objects of the wishes of mankind, lands, money, and honours, were at stake together.

The whole body of the Patricians were alarmed beyond measure, when they reflected with concern, that in all their counsels, public or private, they had never found an antidote to tribunitian poison, but intercession, which they had applied successfully on former occasions, so that they now had recourse to the same expedient in opposing the bills in question. The tribunes brought over to the Patrician party, who attended them in a body, when they saw the tribes summoned by Licinius and Sextius, to give their suffrages, would neither suffer these bills to be read, or any other to be passed by the voices of the people. Several assemblies of the people having been called to no purpose, and the laws considered as entirely rejected. 'It is well,' *said Sextius,* 'since you are for giving so much weight to the opposition of the tribunes, we consent to it, and shall make 'use of the same weapon for the defence of the people. 'Come then, Patricians, assemble the Comitia for the 'election of military tribunes. I shall take care, that 'the words, I FORBID, which our colleagues now 'chant in concert so harmoniously, thrill not so agreeably in your ears.'

These threats were not without effect. No Comitia were held, but for the election of Ædiles and tribunes of the people. Licinius and Sextius who were both re-elected, suffered no curule magistrate to be created. In this anarchy did the city continue for five years complete, the people always re-electing these two tribunes, and they suppressing the Comitia for chusing military tribunes.

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CHAP. XXXVI.

Progreſs of Sextius and Licinius.

IT was lucky for Rome, that ſhe had peace every where, but within her walls: the colony of Velitræ, however, grows wanton with idleneſs, and ſeeing no Roman army, made ſeveral incurſions on the land of the republic, and then laid ſiege to Tuſculum. As the Tuſculans had long been allies, and lately admitted citizens of Rome, the Plebeians, as well as the nobles, were aſhamed to refuſe them the aſſiſtance they requeſted. The tribunes of the people, *Sextius* and *Licinius*, waving their oppoſition, the election of military tribunes was held by an inter-rex. L. Furius, A. Manlius, Ser. Sulpicius, Ser. Cornelius, and the two Valerii, P. and C. who were choſen, did not find the people ſo tractable at making the levies, as they had been in the Comitia. However, an army was raiſed after a great ſtruggle, and taking the field, they not only drove the enemy from Tuſculum, but compelled them to take refuge within their own walls.

Velitræ was now beſieged with a force rather ſuperior to what it had ſent againſt Tuſculum; but they who began the ſiege, could make no impreſſion before they were ſuperceded by new military tribunes; Q. Servilius, C. Veturius, a ſecond time, the two Cornelii, A. and M. Q. Quinctius, and M. Fabius, who performed nothing memorable before Velitræ, more than their predeceſſors.

A more important affair ingroſſed their attention at home. For, Sextius and Licinius, who had propoſed the laws, and been continued in the tribuneſhip, for the eighth time, had found means to get Fabius, Stolo's father-in-law, choſen one of the military tribunes, who had at firſt deviſed theſe laws, and now openly declared himſelf in their favour. And whereas eight of the college of tribunes had at firſt oppoſed theſe laws, there were now only five in the oppoſition: theſe two, which is generally the caſe with deſerters of their party, ſeemed abſent, and quite ſtupid, having nothing to urge in

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defence of their interceſſion, but the ſentiments of others, which, like parrots, they had been taught within doors; ſuch as, that a great part of the people were in the army at Velitræ;—that the Comitia ought to be put off till the return of the army, that all the people might have the priviledge of voting in what concerned their intereſts.

Sextius and Licinius, with a part of their colleagues, and Fabius, one of the military tribunes, by the experience of ſo many years, having become perfect maſters of the addreſs requiſite to manage the people, wearied out the principal ſenators, who frequented the aſſembly, by teazing them with interrogatories relative to every point propoſed to the people.

'Had they the aſſurance to demand, that they ſhould 'have leave to poſſeſs more than five hundred acres of 'land, when a Plebeian had only two aſſigned him? 'Is it reaſonable, that every one of them ſhould hold 'the lands of near three hundred citizens, and that a 'commoner ſhould hardly have ground enough to build 'him an houſe upon, or ſerve him for a burial place 'when he dies? Would they have the people cruſhed 'by uſury, and if they did not pay the intereſt before 'the principal, be laid in irons and given up to ſlavery 'and puniſhment? Would they have crouds of them 'dragged daily out of the forum, to be delivered up to 'their mercileſs creditors, and the houſes of the nobility 'crouded with priſoners, and that the houſe of every 'Patrician ſhould be a private jail?'

CHAP. XXXVII.

Further progreſs of the Tribunes.

WHEN they had thus exclaimed againſt theſe intolerable and inhuman proceedings, and impreſſed their hearers with much greater indignation than they felt themſelves, as fearing one day the caſe might be their own; they immediately added, 'That it would 'be impoſſible to ſet bounds to the rapacity of the Pa-'tricians, with regard to lands, or to their cruelty to 'the people, in regard to uſury, unleſs the people

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'themſelves, provided for their own ſecurity, by enact-
'ing, that one of the conſuls ſhould be elected out of
'their own body. That their tribunes were now held
'in ſovereign contempt, becauſe, by interceſſion, the
'tribunitian power is now ſet up againſt itſelf. That
'juſtice and equity could never take place, whilſt ſove-
'reign power was confined to one order, and the other
'had no other defence, but the interceſſion of their tri-
'bunes. Unleſs the higheſt offices of the ſtate be di-
'vided betwixt both orders, for the people to have an
'equal ſhare in the public adminiſtration, is abſolutely
'impoſſible: nor is it enough, though many may think
'it ſo, that in the conſular Comitia, to a Plebeian, the
'conſulſhip may be attainable. Unleſs it be laid down
'as a rule, that one of the conſuls, at any rate, ſhall
'be choſen from among the people, a Plebeian conſul,
'they will never have. Is it poſſible, they can have
'already forgot, when to end a diſpute, on this very
'head, a decree paſſed, that military tribunes, rather
'than conſuls, ſhould be created, and that this honour,
'the higheſt in the ſtate, ſhould ly open to Plebeians,
'but that during the ſpace of forty-four years, not a
'ſingle Plebeian was raiſed to that office? What! had
'they faith enough to believe that theſe gentlemen
'would voluntarily yield to the people one place out of
'two, when at the election of military tribunes, they
'never could ſpare them one out of eight? Or, that
'they would ever ſuffer, the conſulate to become ac-
'ceſſible, who had ſo long kept every avenue to the mi-
'litary tribuneſhip ſhut up againſt the commons. A
'poſitive law muſt put that matter out of the reach of
'all influence in the Comitia, and that one Plebeian be
'always in the conſulate, muſt be laid down as a maxim,
'ſubject to no diſpute. For, were it only arbitrary,
'ſuperior intereſt would always prevail. The uſual
'objection, that there were no men among the Plebeians
'fit to fill curule offices, is now no longer tenible. For,
'will any one pretend, that the adminiſtration of public
'affairs hath been conducted with leſs ſpirit, or atten-
'tion, ſince the tribunate of P. Licinius Calvus, the
'firſt Plebeian who was raiſed to that office, than it

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'was, during all those years, when it was ingrossed by 'Patricians only? On the contrary, some Patricians 'had been condemned for mal-administration, but ne-'ver one Plebeian. A few years ago too, quæstors be-'gan to be elected out of the body of the people, to 'whose conduct, nobody ever objected. But to the 'Plebeian order, the consulate still was wanting, the 'only prop and pillar of their liberty. This point once 'gained, then, and not till then, may the Roman people 'be deemed to have banished kings from Rome, and to 'have established their liberty on a firm basis. From 'that very day, the Plebeians will begin to share in all 'those things, which now give the Patricians so much 'pre-eminence; as power, honour, military glory, 'and nobility, which they would enjoy themselves, 'and transmit them still greater to their posterity.'

When they found that these discourses were listened to with pleasure, they brought in a new bill, that decemvirs be appointed, instead duumvirs, to have the inspection of sacred affairs, and that of these, one half should be of the Patrician, and the other of the Plebeian order. The Comitia for passing all these bills were adjourned, till the army should return from Velitræ, at the siege of which, they were at present engaged.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Further progress of the Tribunes. A Dictator created to overaw them.

THE year expired before the legions returned from Velitræ, which kept the affair of the laws in suspense, till the new military tribunes entered upon office. The two tribunes of the people, who had proposed the laws, were re-elected. T. Quinctius, Ser. Cornelius, Ser. Sulpicius, Sp. Servilius, L. Papirius, and L. Veturius, were elected to the military tribunate this year. In the beginning of their administration, the contest concerning the laws, was revived with the greatest violence. When the tribes were summoned, and the authors of the laws seemed resolved to proceed without regard to the prohibition of their colleagues, the senate

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was put in a terrible flutter, and had recourse to their last resort, *the highest authority*, and *the greatest man*.

A dictator was immediately resolved on, and Camillus appointed to that high office, who named L. Æmilius general of the horse. The authors of the laws, on their side, armed themselves with courage, against so terrible an opposition, and prepared to contend for the people with invincible constancy. Wherefore, having summoned them to an assembly, they called the tribes to give their suffrages. The dictator attended by a numerous train of the nobility, sat down on his tribunal, full of anger and indignation.

The scene opened with the usual contest among the tribunes themselves, the one side proposing and the other prohibiting the laws. The advantage which the one side derived from the privilege of their office, was more than balanced by the popularity of the laws themselves, and of those who had preferred them. When the first tribes were declaring for the laws, *in the usual form;* 'Be it according to your motion;' Camillus then interposed, 'Romans,' *said he*, 'since you are governed 'by the licentiousness, and not the legal authority of 'your tribunes, and you are now for abolishing the right 'of opposition, which you formerly obtained by your 'retreat to the sacred Mountain, in the same violent 'manner as you acquired it; in quality of dictator, I 'shall take upon me the defence of it, as well for your 'interest in particular, as that of the commonwealth in 'general, and by my authority, support your greatest 'privilege, which you now effectually overthrow. If 'Sextius and Licinius will comply with the opposition 'of their colleagues, I shall interpose my authority in 'your assemblies: but, should they presume, in opposition to this intercession, to impose laws here, as on a 'conquered state, I am determined never to suffer the 'tribunitian power to work its own destruction.'

On the other hand, as the tribunes, with an air of contempt, still pursued their point as eagerly as ever, Camillus, fired with indignation, sent his lictors to clear the forum, threatening, at the same time, that should

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they proceed, he would enlist all the youth, and lead the army out of the city.

The people, by these menaces, were put in a terrible fright; but their champions were rather animated than depressed by them. But before victory declared for either side, Camillus abdicated the dictatorship; either because there had been some defect in the ceremony of his nomination, as some have asserted; or, because the tribunes preferred a bill, which the people passed into a law, that in case M. Furius should exercise his dictatorial authority there, he should be fined in 500,000 asses of brass †. But it seems most probable, that he was rather overawed by some defect in taking the auspices, than by a bill so strange and unprecedented, especially when we consider his character, and that P. Manlius was immediately appointed to succeed him; for what good purpose could it have served to nominate a successor to decide a controversy, when the dictatorial authority had proved impotent in the hands of Camillus? Besides, the same Camillus was dictator the year following, an office, of which he would have been surely ashamed had he been so lately overpowered in the exercise of it. At the same time, when the bill for imposing the fine, is said to have been preferred, he could have prevented an act, by which he saw himself restricted in the exercise of his office, otherwise he could never have prevented the passing of those very laws, for the sake of which, this bill had been preferred against him. And last of all, in all the warmest divisions that ever happened between the consuls and tribunes, even to this day, it is remarkable, that the dictatorial authority, has ever been superior to both.

† £. 1,614. 11. 8.

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CHAP. XXXIX.

Further progreſs of Sextius and Licinius.

DURING the interval between the reſignation, and new nomination of Manlius to the dictatorſhip, an aſſembly of the people was held by the tribunes, as in a kind of inter-regnum, wherein the different points in view, of the tribunes and people, with reſpect to the laws in queſtion, were abundantly deſcernible. For, to the people, the bills relating to uſury and the diſtribution of lands, were highly acceptable, but that which related to the conſtant election of a Plebeian conſul, they wiſhed to diſpenſe with. The matter would have reſted here, had not the tribunes declared, that the people muſt give their voices to all the three, at one and the ſame time. P. Manlius the dictator, thereafter, turned the ſcale in favour of the people, by naming C. Licinius, a Plebeian, who had been a military tribune, his general of the horſe. It is ſaid, that this ſtep was far from being agreeable to the fathers, but that the dictator excuſed himſelf to them, on account of his near relation to Licinius, at the ſame time, that the honour of general of the horſe, was not greater than that of military tribune.

When the day was appointed for aſſembling the Comitia to elect tribunes of the people, Licinius and Sextius behaved with ſo much fineſſe, that by pretending they would no longer ſerve in the ſtation of tribunes, they raiſed in the people an extraordinary keenneſs to grant them what they ſo ardently wiſhed for, though they ſeemed to refuſe it. 'What,' *ſaid they*, 'have we not 'been in arms againſt the Patricians, as in the field of 'battle, to the utmoſt danger of our own perſons, but 'with no advantage to the public? The laws we have 'propoſed, and the whole force of the tribunitian power 'grow old with ourſelves. For, firſt we had to ſtruggle 'againſt the oppoſition of our colleagues to the bills 'we had preferred; then all the youth were ſent away 'to the war againſt Velitræ; and laſt of all, the artil-

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'lery of dictatorial power has been played againſt us. 'Now colleagues, war, and dictator, are all out of the 'queſtion; has not our preſent dictator ſhown that he 'is not averſe to a Plebeian conſul, in nominating a Ple-'beian to be his general of the horſe. It is the people 'themſelves who clog the wheels of their own intereſt. 'It is in their power, if they pleaſe, to have the city 'and forum cleared of oppreſſive creditors, and the 'lands of violent poſſeſſors. But after all, when would 'they make a ſuitable return for ſervices ſo important, 'if at the very inſtant, they were obtaining laws ſo 'much to their intereſt, they ſhould cut off the propo-'ſers of theſe laws from all hopes of riſing in the ſtate? 'It is inconſiſtent with the generoſity of the Roman 'people, to be attentive ſolely to their own deliverance 'from the oppreſſion of uſury, and the acquiſition of 'lands uſurped by the nobility, whilſt they leave their 'tribunes, by whoſe means they had attained theſe ad-'vantages, to grow old in their ſervice, not only with-'out honour, but without all hope of honour. There-'fore, they ought previouſly to determine upon the 'choice they were to make, and then declare their ſen-'timents openly in the aſſembly for the election of tri-'bunes. If they were willing to paſs the laws they had 'preferred conjointly, they might, in that caſe, chuſe 'the ſame tribunes again, who would certainly finiſh 'what they had begun: but, if they were reſolved to 'paſs only ſuch laws, as ſuited their private intereſt, it 'would be quite needleſs to continue them in an office, 'that only ſerved to expoſe them to envy; neither, in-'deed, in that caſe, would they accept of the tribune-'ſhip, nor ſhould the people have the benefit of the laws 'they had propoſed.'

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CHAP. XL.

Appius's Speech. A. R. 385.

WHILST the reſt of the ſenators were ſtruck with indignation and amazement, at this reſolute declaration of the tribunes, Ap. Claudius Craſſus, grandſon of the decemvir, is ſaid to have ſtepped forth, animated more by rage and reſentment, than any hopes he entertained of influencing the aſſembly, and expreſſed himſelf much to the following effect.

'I ſhall not be ſurpriſed, gentlemen, ſhould I now 'meet with the uſual, and the alone objection made to 'our family by the ſeditious tribunes, that the Claudian 'family, ever ſince the beginning, have ſhown themſelves firmly attached to the dignity of the ſenate, and averſe to the intereſt of the commons. The firſt part 'of the charge, I neither deny, nor will attempt to 'diſprove. For, from the moment we were admitted 'into the city and the Patrician order, we have exerted 'our utmoſt, to have it ſaid of us with juſtice, that we 'have rather advanced, than impaired the dignity of 'that order, into which, you did us the honour to incorporate us. As to the laſt part of the charge, gentlemen, I dare venture to maintain, both in regard to 'my anceſtors and myſelf, that unleſs any one will contend, that the good of the whole, is inconſiſtent with 'the intereſts of the people, as if they were members of 'a different community, we have neither in a private 'nor in a public capacity, to our knowledge, acted in 'any inſtance, in oppoſition to the intereſt of the commons. Nor can a real inſtance be produced, wherein, 'either in word or deed, we have oppoſed your true 'intereſt, though we have ſometimes declared againſt 'your deſires. But, ſuppoſe I were not of the Claudian 'family, nor of the Patrician order;—ſuppoſe I were 'only a Roman, born of free parents, and ſenſible that 'I lived in a free city; is it poſſible, that I could be a 'ſilent ſpectator of ſuch unaccountable proceedings?— 'To ſee L. Sextius and Caius Licinius, your perpetual 'tribunes, if the Gods ſpare them, lording it with ſuch

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despotic sway, as they have done for these nine years past, that they have led you by the nose, and now tell you openly, that you shall not be at liberty to vote as you please, either in your assemblies, for elections, or for passing laws? *Yes*, say they, *upon terms, you shall continue us in the tribuneship, for the tenth year.* Which is telling you in very plain terms, *That however much others may esteem your offices an honour, and employ interest to obtain them, as for us, we look upon them with so much contempt, that we must be paid at a very high rate, for taking the trouble of them.* And, pray in what manner are we to pay you, should you do us the honour to be perpetual tribunes? Why, say they; you must accept all our laws together, agreeable or disagreeable, useful or pernicious, no matter, pass they must. With your leave now tribunes, (Tarquins, I might say,) suppose me, a single citizen, calling out from the middle of the assembly; *Only permit us, with due submission to your worships, to chuse such of these bills, as shall appear for our interest, and to reject the rest.* Their answer would be, *We will permit no such thing. Shall you pass the laws that respect usury, and the distribution of lands, in which you would all find your account, and at the same time, be upon the watch, that this L. Sextius and C. Licinius, shall have no avenue to the consulship, as it would be a prodigy in Rome, shocking and intolerable? To be plain then, you must take all, or you shall have none.* To offer a man oppressed with hunger bread and poison, and oblige him to take both, or neither, would be no greater insult upon human liberty. But if this had been a free state, would not numbers have cried out before now; *Begone with your tribuneships and bills together? If you will not propose such bills as the people will find their account in passing, do you imagine there is nobody else that will?* Were any Patrician, or what to them may appear still more odious, were some Claudius to tell you, *Take the whole together, or you shall have none;* would you suffer it gentlemen? Will the time never come, that you will learn to distinguish between persons and things? Will you always be inclined to receive favourably what your own magistrates propose,

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'and to reject every thing from ours? Upon my ho-
'nour, such discourses are absolutely rude. But, to
'come to the point; what kind of bill is this, which
'they are so much offended you should reject? Why
'gentlemen, it is exactly like their language. Why,
'say they, *We move, that you denude yourselves of the*
'*power of chusing such consuls as you please*; for, to im-
'pose on you an absolute necessity of chusing one of the
'consuls out of the Plebeian order, can have no other
'meaning, since you are expresly debarred the alter-
'native of electing two Patricians. If at this moment,
'we were involved in wars, such as that with Etruria,
'when Porsenna was in possession of the Janiculum, or
'such as we had with the Gauls lately, when all Rome,
'excepting only the capitol and citadel was in the ene-
'my's power, and at the same time, that this same Sex-
'tius should stand candidate for the consulship, toge-
'ther with the great Camillus, or any other Patrician,
'could you bear the thought, that Sextius must infallibly
'succeed, and Camillus run the risk of being rejected?
'Is this to bestow honours on both orders indifferently,
'to leave the consulship open to two Plebeians, and
'only to one Patrician?—To establish it as a rule, that
'one of the consuls shall invariably be a Plebeian; but
'the Patricians may be overlooked in the choice of both?
'Is there any good fellowship, or social intercourse in
'this? Is it not enough, that you come in now for a
'share of what you never enjoyed before, unless in sue-
'ing for a part, you ingross the whole? *Ay, but say*
'*they, if the people are left at liberty to elect Patricians,*
'*it is a question, whether they would ever think of a Ple-*
'*beian.* Is not this a plain declaration, *That if you will*
'*not of yourselves bring men into office, that are not qua-*
'*lified for it, we will lay you under the necessity of electing*
'*them contrary to your inclination?* And, does it not
'follow as a natural consequence, that if one Plebeian
'shall appear as a candidate with two Patricians, he
'may safely say, that he lies under no obligation to the
'people, to whose suffrages he does not ow his election,
'but to the law?

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CHAP. XLI. *In Continuation.*

« THE queſtion is not with them, in what manner « they ſhould court preferment, but how they « may extort it; and ſo riſe to the higheſt honours in « the ſtate, without acknowledging you for the leaſt. « They would rather owe their preferment to favourable « opportunities, than to real merit. Is there any one « who thinks himſelf above all enquiry or examination, « with reſpect to his qualifications?—who thinks that he « alone is entitled to a preference of all the competitors « that enter the liſts with him?—who will not ſubmit « to your judgment?—and render your ſuffrages neceſ- « ſary, which ought to be voluntary; and ſubject to a « law, what ought to be free? I ſay nothing of Licini- « us and Sextius, the years of whoſe perpetual tyranny « are numbered as the years of the kings in the Capitol. « Who is there at this day in Rome of ſo mean a condi- « tion, to whom, by this law, the conſulſhip will not « be more acceſſible, than to us and our children? For « ſometimes you cannot honour us with your ſuffrages, « however much you might be diſpoſed to do it; but « them you muſt, however averſe your inclination. To « dwell no longer on the indignity offered to all ranks « by this law, though there is nothing dearer to a man « than his honour: what ſhall I ſay with reſpect to re- « ligion and the auſpices, every innovation in which, is « a direct inſult to, and an open contempt of the Gods « themſelves? Does not every one know, that this city « was founded by auſpices, and that every thing that « relates to peace or war, at home or abroad, is regu- « lated by auſpices? Whoſe right are the auſpices ac- « cording to the inſtitutions of our anceſtors? the right « of the Patricians undoubtedly. For no Plebeian ma- « giſtrate, was ever uſhered into office with that cere- « mony. So peculiarly are the auſpices ours, that the « people cannot proceed in the election of Patrician ma- « giſtrates without them; but with them, we may name « an inter-rex without the voices of the people: beſides, « we have auſpices in private life, which they have not « even in the election of their magiſtrates. Whoever there-

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'fore attempts, by impoſing Plebeian conſuls upon the 'ſtate, to rob the fathers of the auſpices, to which they 'have an indefeaſible right, does he not in effect de- 'prive the ſtate of the auſpices? They may now make 'a farce of our religious rites. *For, what does it ſignify* 'ſay they, *whether the chickens eat or not;—whether 'they come ſooner or later out of their coop;—whether 'the birds ſing or be ſilent?* Theſe things ſeem not im- 'portant. But it was by paying due reſpect to theſe 'things, that our anceſtors have raiſed this ſtate to her 'preſent pitch of greatneſs. The caſe now is very dif- 'ferent; we profane all ceremonies, as if we were in- 'dependent of the favour of the Gods. Let then our 'pontiffs, our augurs, and kings of the ſacrifice be 'choſen out of the dregs of the people. Let the ſacer- 'dotal cap be put on any head, without diſtinction, 'only let it be a man's. The ſacred bucklers, awful 'ſanctuaries, the Gods, and whatever belongs to them, 'let us give them in charge to perſons, to whom they 'cannot be committed without impiety. Let not the au- 'ſpices be regarded, either in paſſing laws, or creating 'magiſtrates. Let the Comitia by centuries, act with- 'out the ſanction of the fathers. Let Sextius and Li- 'cinius, as Romulus and Tatius of old, reign abſolute 'in Rome, in return for remitting debts, and giving 'grants of lands, they held by no tenure whatever. To 'them, there is a mighty charm in preying on other 'men's eſtates: But reflect a little, and you will ſee, 'that by one of theſe laws, many fields will be convert- 'ed into deſerts, when the landlords are ejected from 'their poſſeſſions; and by the other, public credit will 'be ruined, and conſequently all civil intercourſe will 'be finally ſtopped. In reſpect therefore, of all theſe 'weighty conſiderations, I think it is your buſineſs to 'reject the bills. But whatever you do, I pray the 'Gods to grant ſucceſs.'

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CHAP. XLII.

Creation of Decemvirs, five out of each order.—Defeat of the Gauls. Gallantry of Manlius. The Tribunes carry their point. A. R. 386.

APPIUS's ſpeech had no other effect, than to procure a temporary ſuſpenſion of the laws. Sextius and Licinius were re-elected for the tenth time, and preferred a law for creating decemvirs for keeping the ſacred books, five of them Patricians, and five Plebeians, which was paſſed. This ſeemed to them a ſtep towards ſecuring the conſulſhip. Contented with this victory, the commons gave no further diſturbance to the fathers; and without mentioning the conſulſhip at that time agreed to the election of military tribunes, when the two Cornelii, A. and M. a ſecond; M. Geganius, P. Manlius, L. Veturius, and P. Valerius, a ſecond time were choſen.

At this time, the Roman affairs abroad were in great tranquillity, excepting only with reſpect to Veliternæ, the ſiege whereof, though ſlow, rendered the ſucceſs by no means doubtful, when ſudden advices were received, that the Gauls were in motion, which induced the ſtate to raiſe M. Furius to the dictatorſhip, for the fifth time. He named T. Quinctius Pennus, general of the horſe.

According to Claudius, the Romans came to blows with the Gauls this year, near the river Anio; and that upon the bridge, in view of both armies, in ſingle combat, Titus Manlius ſlew a Gaul, who had challenged him, and ſtript him of his golden chain. But from the concurrent teſtimony of many hiſtorians, I am apt to believe, that this celebrated combat happened not till ten years after. However, the Romans, headed by their dictator M. Furius, gave battle to the Gauls this year, in the territory of Alba, and without any great ſtruggle, gained a complete victory, although the remembrance of their former defeat, *at Allia*, was far from being effaced. Many thouſands of the barbarians fell in battle, and in taking their camp not a few. The remainder

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being diſperſed, ſaved themſelves from the enemy, eſpecially ſuch as took the route to Apulia, both by the length of their flight, and the diſtance the terror they were in had carried them aſunder.

The ſenate and people were unanimous in granting the honour of a triumph to the dictator. But he had ſcarce given the finiſhing blow to this war, when he had a more terrible conflict ſtill to ſuſtain at home; for after many hard ſtruggles, the dictator and ſenate were obliged to ſuccumb, and accept the bills propoſed by the tribunes: and in ſpite of all the efforts of the nobility, the aſſembly was held for the election of conſuls, wherein L. Sextius, the firſt commonner raiſed to that dignity, was choſen conſul. Nor did their conteſts even end here. The fathers refuſed to confirm the election, and the conſequence was, that the commons were on the point of making a ſeceſſion, uttering the moſt terrible threats, that they would decide the matter by the ſword. By the interpoſition of the dictator, however, the matter was compromiſed. The nobility yielded to the people, their claim relative to a Plebeian conſul; and the people agreed that the ſenate ſhould elect a Prætor *, out of their own order, to be the ſole judge and diſpenſer of juſtice in the city.

Thus at length, the two orders, after the moſt violent animoſities, being perfectly reconciled, the ſenate thought, that in gratitude to the immortal Gods, it would be highly proper to celebrate the greateſt games †, and to do it with ſpirit, as they had now more reaſon than ever, they would add one to the three days formerly in uſe. The Ædiles of the people refuſed to

* *Ex præire, qui jure præivit;* a title given to all magiſtrates, who adminiſtred juſtice, or had the command of armies. In the Republic, the conſuls had hitherto done the duty of Prætor; but frequent avocations, and a multiplicity of buſineſs, made it neceſſary now to create a magiſtrate on purpoſe. The Prætorſhip was the ſecond dignity in the Commonwealth, and was entitled to the Prætexta, the Curule Chair, and two Lictors, who bearing Faſces, walked before the Prætor. The provincial Prætors, in after times, were allowed ſix Lictors.

† Theſe games, the *Feriæ Latinæ*, before this time were called *magni*, but now they got the name of *maximi*, having been continued four days, inſtead of three.

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perform their part of the festival; upon which the young Patricians cried out with one voice, that, for the service of the immortal Gods, they would chearfully do the duty, to have the honour of being created Ædiles. They received the thanks of all parties; and the senate decreed, that the dictator should make a motion to the people, to create two Ædiles * of the Patrician order, in return for which compliment, the fathers were to ratify all the acts passed in the Comitia, during the currency of that year.

* These Ædiles were called *Curule*, because they were allowed to sit in Curule Chairs, an honour not permitted to the Plebeian Ædiles. To them was committed the care of the temples, theatres, games, markets, tribunals of justice, and the repairs of the city-walls. In after times, they were appointed to review new publications, and pieces to be exhibited on the stage.

THE END.

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